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A NARRATIVE

OF THE PROCEEDINGS AND TROUBLES OF THE ENGLISH CONGREGATION AT FRANKFURT ON THE MAINE.

M.D.LIV.—M.D.LV.

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AFTER Queen Mary's accession to the throne of England, when the old forms of religious worship were restored and rigorously enforced, no inconsiderable number of Protestants, including many of the most learned and faithful ministers, had taken refuge in various parts of the Continent. Of these English exiles, several came to Frankfurt on the Maine in June 1554; and having formed themselves into a congregation, they obtained from the Magistrates a right for themselves, and for such of their countrymen as should afterwards unite with them, to the joint-use of the French Protestant Church in that city. In their desire to have the benefits of stated religious instruction, they agreed to give a call to two or three "grave, godlie, and learned ministers, of like authoritie,[1] as is accustomed in the best Reformed churches."

In thus obtaining the accommodation of a place of worship, there was this condition annexed by the Magistrates, that the service should be conducted as nearly as possible to that of the French Church, which corresponded closely with the forms practised at Geneva. Letters were then addressed to their countrymen at Zürich, Strasburg, and other places, inviting them to avail themselves of this privilege by joining their congregation; but from these places a decided opinion was expressed against any other forms being used than the Book of Common Prayer, as set forth by Edward the Sixth. Knox, who had accepted the call to become one of their ministers, and had arrived at Frankfurt in October 1554, with other members of the congregation, having objections to several of the "unprofitable ceremonies" in that form of service, it was

[1] Of like, or, of equal authority.

resolved that a summary of the English Prayer Book should be prepared, and translated into Latin, for the purpose of being submitted to Calvin for his opinion; and he was informed that some of their brethren were desirous to enforce its use, and to admit of no change. This appears to have been in January 1555. His letter to Knox and Whittingham in reply is well known, and is also introduced into the following Narrative.

In the "Brieff Discours off the Troubles begonne at Franckford," which was first published in the year 1575, a minute and interesting account is given of the various proceedings which took place in consequence of the dissensions that ensued, in regard to the use of the surplice, the omission of the litany, the audible responses, and kneeling at the communion. It would seem that Knox had rendered himself obnoxious to Dr Richard Coxe, who had been Edward the Sixth's preceptor, and to the other persons who were most clamorous for a strict adherence to the English Book of Prayer; and finding that he was supported by the chief body of the congregation, in March 1555 they endeavoured to procure his disgrace by lodging information with the Magistrates, that in his "Faithful Admonition," published in 1554, he had used treasonable language, in speaking of the Emperor, the Queen of England, and her husband Philip the Second of Spain. In this object they were but too successful, and Knox, on the 26th of March 1555, having taken an affectionate leave of his brethren, returned to Geneva.

The "Brief Discourse" was published without the name of the author. Of the entire work, there are three republications.[1] According to Bishop Bale, John Mackbray or Macbrair,[2] one of the preachers at Frankfurt, wrote an account in Latin of the beginning and progress of the English Church in that place. In the recent edition, the publisher, Mr Petheram, avails himself of a communication from Dr M'Crie, in which various reasons

[1] See page 8.

[2] Script. M. Brit. Cent. xiv. p. 229 A brief notice of Mackbray is given in the Appendix to vol. i., p. 529.

are assigned for attributing the work to William Whittingham, who had taken a leading share in the proceedings narrated. Indeed, the internal evidence in favour of Whittingham being the author is all but conclusive. He was one of Knox's colleagues both at Frankfurt and Geneva, and afterwards became Dean of Durham in July 1563, his Puritan notions in all probability being the cause of excluding him from higher preferment in the Church of England. He survived till the 10th of June 1579.[1]

The following Narrative consists of extracts from the earlier portion of the "Brief Discourse," and ought perhaps to have been reserved for the Appendix to this volume, as it was not actually written by Knox. But these extracts require to be more prominently brought forward, as they contain the letter from the English exiles, in September 1554, giving him a call to the ministry in that city; and while they serve as a connecting link in his history, they form the most suitable introduction to his own Narrative of the charges which some of his fellow-exiles brought against him, and which led to such an abrupt termination of his ministerial labours at Frankfurt.

Of the subsequent proceedings of the Frankfurt congregation after Knox's departure, the detailed account contained in the "Brief Discourse" is illustrated by many of the Zürich letters recently published by the Parker Society. But it may be remarked, that as the adoption of an Order of Service, different from that of the Book of Common Prayer, was resolved upon previously to Knox's arrival in Frankfurt, so his removal from that place did not produce the effect of terminating the troubles of the English exiles in reference to this subject. For upwards of two years these dissensions still continued. Early in 1556, when "Maister Whithead gave up of his own good

[1] Willis's Cathedrals, p. 253, Wood's Athenæ Oxon., by Bliss, vol. i. p. 446, and Note AA. in M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 432. In the article, "The Marian Exiles," which contains much valuable information on the subject, in the Edinburgh Review for April 1847, some interesting extracts are given from a MS. Life of Whittingham, preserved among Wood's MSS., in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

will, as he saide, the pastorall office," and Horne was appointed, the latter speaks "of the now almost ruined Church of our exiles at Frankfort;[1] and the author of the "Brief Discourse" says, "from whiche tyme forward the troubles and contentions were so sore amonge them, that who so shall well waie it with due consideration, I ween he shall think it to be the juste judgement of our righteous God that fell upon them, for supplantinge a churche there before them in great quietnes and of muche sinceritie."[2]

The short Narrative by Knox, which he intended to enlarge and publish in his own defence, has been preserved by the historian Calderwood, and is inserted in the existing portion of his larger manuscript deposited in the British Museum. Upon revising his History, in 1627, in its more condensed form, as recently published by the Wodrow Society,[3] and likewise in his later recension in 1636, Calderwood thought proper to abridge Knox's statement, omitting several important particulars which are not elsewhere to be found. True it is, Knox himself, when engaged upon his History of the Reformation, alludes in general terms to the cause of his leaving Frankfurt,[4] and says he deemed it advisable to suppress any minute details, and to withhold the names of the parties who were chiefly concerned in accusing him to the civic authorities. The subsequent publication of the "Brief Discourse" might have obviated any such scruples had he then been alive; and there seems at least no reason for now withholding the names of such men as Lever, Bale, Turner, Jewell, and Coxe; as it only affords a proof of the extent to which party zeal or personal feelings will lead men of such undoubted worth.

[1] Zurich Letters, p. 128.

[2] "A Brieff Discours," &c., p. lxii.

[3] Edinburgh, 1842–1849, 8 vols. 8vo. In vol. viii. pp. 127–132, an account is given of the several MSS. of Calderwood's History.

[4] See vol. i. p. 232.

A Brieff discours

off the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany AnnoDomini 1554. Abowte the Booke off off common prayer and Ceremonies / and continued by the Englishe men theyre / to thende off Q. Maries Raigne / in the which discours / the gentle reader shall see the very originall and beginninge off all the contention that hathe byn / and what was the cause off the same.

Marc. 4.

For there is nothinge hid that shall not be opened neither is there a secreat but that it shall come to light / yff anie man haue eares to heare / let him heare.

M. D. LXXV.

The original edition of the "Brief Discourse" is in 4to, black letter, pp. ccxv. The pages are all marked with numeral letters in the middle of the page. It has no place or printer's name, but was evidently printed abroad, with the same types as Cartwright's and the Martin Mar-Prelate Tracts, and, it is supposed, at Geneva. In the following extracts, the orthography, in a few instances, such as "off," of, and "bin," been, have been corrected. The passages extracted are from pages v., xiii., xvi., xix. to xlv. inclusive; that at p. 50, from p. lviii.

The "Brief Discourse" has been reprinted on three several occasions:—

1. "A Briefe Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankeford in Germany, An. Dom. 1554, &c. First published in the yeare 1575, and now Reprinted according to the original Copy, *Verbatim*. Humbly Presented to the View and consideration of the most Honourable and High Court of Parliament; And the Reverend Divines of the intended ensuing Assembly. London, Printed by G. Bishop, and R. White, for Tho: Underhill, and are to be sold at the signe of the Bible in Woodstreete. 1642." 4to, pp. [viii.] and 184.

2. "A Brief Discourse of the Troubles," &c., pages 44 to 203 of "The Second Volume of The Phenix: or, a Revival of Scarce and Valuable Pieces, no where to be found but in the Closets of the Curious." London, Printed for J. Morphew, 1707, 1708, 2 vols. 8vo.

3. "A Brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort, in the year 1554, about the Book of Common Prayer and Ceremonies. Reprinted from the Black-Letter Edition of 1575, with an Introduction. London: John Petheram, 71 Chancery Lane. M.DCCC.XLVI." Small 8vo, pp. xiv. and ccxv. Since this republication, a copy of the original has been discovered by Mr Petheram with the date M.D.LXXIV.

A NARRATIVE

OF THE TROUBLES AT FRANKFURT.

AFTER that yt had pleased the Lorde God to take awaie for our synnes that noble prince of famous memorie, Kinge Edwarde the Sixthe,[1] and had placed Queene Marie in his roume; sundrie godly men, aswell strangers as of the English nation, fledd, for the libertie of their consciences, over the seas, some into France, some into Flanders, and some into the High Countries of the Empire: And in the yere of oure Lorde 1554, and the 27. of June, came Edmonde Sutton, William Williams, William Whittingham, and Thomas Wood, with their companies, to the citie of Franckford, in Germany; the firste Englishe men that there arrived to remaine and abide. The same night came one Maister Valaren Pullan,[2] minister, unto their lodginge, and declared howe he had obtained a churche there, in the name of all suche as shuld come owte of Englande for the Gospell; but especially from Glassenbury, whiche were all Frenche men. Answere was made him, that as God was to be praised, who had moved the Magistrats hartes to shewe the Frenche suche favour, evenso, for so muche as fewe of them understoode the Frenche tonge, it woulde be small commoditie to them, or to suche as shulde come afterwarde, to joyne themselves to that Churche.

The nexte daye they communed with Maister Morellio, another minister of the Frenche churche; and also with Maister Castalio, a senior of the same, (bothe of them godly and lerned men). By their advise and counsaile it was determined, that

[1] He died on the 6th of July 1553.

[2] See notice of Pullan or Pollanus, and of the church at Glastonbury, in England, *infra*, p. 42.

a Supplication shulde be drawen out, and offered to the Magistrats, to knowe, firste, Whither they woulde be contented, that not onely the parties before named, but also all other Englishe men that woulde repaire thither for the like cause, might, through their favour, be suffred safely to remaine within their city. This Supplication was subscribed aswell by the sayed Sutton, Whittingham, and the reste of the Englishe men, as also by Morellio, Castallio, and one Adrian a cittezen there, with whom they lodged. And within three daies after the offringe up of their Supplication, they obtained their requestes.

The 8. of July followinge, labor was made by the counsaile and advice of Morellio and Castalio (who duringe their lyves shewed them selves fathers to all Englishe men) to Maister John Glawberge, one of the chiefest senators, for a place or churche, wherin they and all their country men might have God's Worde truly preached, and the Sacraments sincerely ministred in their naturall tonge; who jentlie promised his furtherance, and that he also woulde move the whole Senate therof; the whiche he did accordingly. And the 14. daie of the same monethe, yt was graunted that they shulde have libertie to preache and minister the Sacraments, in that churche which the Frenche men had; the Frenche one daie, and the Englishe an other daie, and upon the Sundaie, to chuse also them houres as they coulde agree amonge them selves; but yt was with this commandement, that the Englishe shulde not dissent from the French men in doctrine or ceremonyes, least they shulde thereby minister occasion of offence. And willed farther, that before they entred their churche, they shulde approve and subscribe the same Confession of Faith that the Frenche men had then presented, and abowte to put in printe:[1] To the whiche all the afore named (and others which by this time come thither) did subscribe.

When the Churche was in this sorte granted, they consulted amonge themselves what Order of Service they shulde use (for

[1] This Liturgy will afterwards be described.

they were not so strictly bownde, as was tolde them, to the Ceremonies of the Frenche, by the Magistrats, but that if the one allowed of the other it was sufficient). At length the Englishe Order was perused, and this, by generall consente, was concluded, that the Answeringe alowde after the minister shulde not be used; the Letanye, Surplice, and many other thinges also omitted, for that in those Reformed churches suche thinges woulde seeme more then strange. It was farther agreed uppon, that the minister (in place of the Englishe Confession) shulde use an other, bothe of more effecte, and also framed accordinge to the state and time. And the same ended, the people to singe a psalme in meetre, in a plaine tune, as was, and is accustomed in the Frenche, Dutche, Italian, Spanishe, and Skottishe churches;[1] that done, the minister to praye for the assistance of God's Holie Spirite, and so to proceade to the sermon. After the sermon, a generall praier for all estates, and for oure countrie of Englande, was also devised; at th'ende of whiche praier was joined the Lord's Praier, and a rehersall of th'articles of oure belief; whiche ended, the people to singe ane other psalme, as afore. Then the minister pronouncinge this blessinge, "The peace of God," &c., or some other of like effecte, the people to departe.

And as touchinge the ministration of the Sacraments, sundrie things were also, by common consente, omitted as superstitious and superfluous. After that the congregation had thus concluded and agreed, and had chosen their minister and deacons to serve for a time, they entred their churche the 29. of the same monethe.

At whiche tyme [in August 1554], Master Grindall[2] wrote to Master Scory[3] at Emden, perswadinge him to be Superintendent

[1] See the Preface to the Book of Common Order, in a subsequent portion of the present volume.

[2] Dr Edmund Grindal, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Bishop of London, afterwards Archbishop of York, and of Canterbury.

[3] John Scory, successively Bishop of Rochester, Chichester, and of Hereford. He survived till 1589.

of this churche of Frankford, who (in two severall letters to his private freinds) offred his service to the congregation; but before the receipte therof, the Congregation had written their letters to Maister Knox at Geneva, to Master Haddon at Strausbrough, and Master Lever at Zurick, whom they had elected for their ministers, and advertised Mr Scory, by a generall letter, of the same.

Abowte this tyme [in October], letters were receyved from Maister Haddon, wherin he desired, for divers considerations, to be excused, for comminge to take the charge uppon him at Franckford.

The 24. of October, came Maister Whithead[1] to Franckford, and at the requeste of the Congregation, he tooke the charge for a time, and preached uppon the Epistle to the Romains.

Abowte the 4. of November, came Maister Chambers[2] to Franckford, with letters from Zurick, whiche were partlie an answere to an other letter written unto them from Franckforde the 26. of September, whiche was as followith.

. . . . . .

When Maister Chambers had conferred with the Congregation [of Franckford], and sawe that they coulde not assure him the full use of the Englishe booke withowte the hazardinge of their Churche, he prepared to departe [for Zurick] from whens he came; and by this time was Maister Knox come from Geneva, (and chosen minister) uppon the receipte of a letter sent him from the Congregation, whiche letter was as followith:

We have received letters from oure brethern of Strausbrough, but not in suche sorte and ample wise as we looked for; wheruppon we assembled together in the Holie Goaste we hope, and have with one voice and consent chosen yow so par-

[1] David Whitehead, whom Strype mentions as "an ancient learned divine, and once recommended by Archbishop Cranmer as Archbishop of Armagh."—(*Eccl. Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 146.)

[2] Richard Chambers, see Strype's Eccl. Memor., vol. iii. p. 146.

ticulerly to be one of the Ministers of our Congregation here, to preache unto us the moste lively Worde of God, accordinge to the gift that God hathe geven yow; for as muche as we have here, throughe the mercifull goodnes of God, a churche to be congregated together in the name of Christe, and be all of one body, and also beinge of one nation, tonge, and countrie. And at this presente havinge neede of suche a one as yow, we do desire yow, and also require you, in the name of God, not to deny us, nor to refuse theis oure requests;[1] but that yow will aide, helpe, and assiste us with your presence in this our good and godlie enterprise whiche we have take in hand, to the glorie of God, and the profit of his congregation, and the poore sheepe of Christ dispersed abroad, who withe your and like presences, woulde come hither and be of one folde, where as nowe they wander abroad as loste sheepe withowte anie guide. We mistruste not but that yow will joyfully accept this callinge. Fare ye well, from Franckford this 24. of September.

Your lovinge Brethern,

JOHN BALE.
EDMOND SUTTON.
JOHN MAKEBRAIE.

WILLIAM WHITINGHAM.	THOMAS WOOD.	MIGHELL GILL.
THOMAS COLE.	JOHN STANTON.	JOHN SAMFORD.
WILLIAM WILLIAMS.	WILLIAM WALTON.	JOHN WOOD.
GEORGE CHIDLEY.	JASPER SWYFT.	THOMAS SORBY.
WILLIAM HAMMON.	JOHN GEOFRIE.	ANTHONY CARIAR.
THOMAS STEWARD.	JOHN GRAIE.	HUGH ALFORDE.

Nowe to returne to the tenor of the letter which the Congregation of Franckford wrote, by Maister Chambers, to the students of Zurick:

WE have receyved your two severall letters, the one dated the 13. of October, sent us from Strausbrough, and the other

[1] Mark the calling off Knox to the pastorshipp.—(*Marg. note.*)

the 27. of the same, by the hands of your deare frinde Maister Chambers, and have conferred with him at large touching the contents therof. And when, as after divers assemblyes and longe debatings, the saied Maister Chambers perceyved that we coulde not in all points warrant the full use of the Booke of Service (whiche semethe to be your full scope and marke), and also waying in conscience the great benefit that God hathe in this Citie offred to our whole Nation, he not only rejoised at the same, but also promised to travell in perswadinge yow to the furtheraunce therof. As touchinge the effecte of the Booke, we desire the execution therof as muche as yow (so farr as God's Worde dothe commende it); but as for the unprofitable ceremonies, aswell by his consent as by ours, are not to be used. And althoughe they were tollerable (as some are not), yet beinge in a strange Common wealthe, we coulde not be suffred to put them in use; and better it were they shulde never be practised, then they shulde be the subversion of oure churche, which shulde fall in great hassard by usinge them.

The matter is not ours more than yours, (excepte anie excell other in godly zeale), but bothe wishe God's honor.

If a larger gate be opened there to the same then to us, uppon your perswasions, ye shall not finde us to drawe back. For this is that necessitie, Brethern, that maie not be neglected, yf we wishe the comforte and gatheringe together of oure dispersed brethern. Yf anie think that the not usinge of the Booke in all points shoulde increase our godly fathers and bretherns bands, or els anye thinge deface the worthie ordinances and lawes of our Soveraigne Lorde of moste famous memory, Kinge Edward the Sixthe; he semethe either litle to waie the mater, or ells, letted through ignorance, knowethe not that even they themselves have, uppon considerations of circumstances, altered heretofore many thinges as touchinge the same; and if God had not in theis wicked daies otherwise determined, woulde hereafter have chaunged more, yea, and in oure case, we dowte not but that they wouldе have done the like. Theis

fewe lines, concerning both our communications, we have accordingly written unto yow, referringe the reste to the discretion of oure good friende Maister Chambers, who knoweth that we have shewed oure selves most conformable in all thinges that standethe in our powers, and most desirous of your companies, accordinge to our former letters. The Spirit of God move your hartes to do that which shalbe most to his glorie, and the comforte of your brethern. At Franckford, this 15. of November. Your lovinge Freinds, &c.

The 28. of November, Maister Chambers came againe to Franckford from Strausbrough, and with him Maister Grindall, with letters from the lerned men there, subscribed with 16. of their handes; whiche letter was as followeth:

WHEN we do consider what inwarde comforte it were for the faithfull people of Englande, now dispersed for the Gospell, and wandringe abroad in strange countries as shepe withowte pastor, to be gathered together into one congregation, that with one mouth, one minde, and one spirit, they might glorifie God: We have at all tymes, and do presently think it oure dewties, not only in harte to wishe that thinge, but also to labor by all means, so muche as in us lyethe, to bringe the same to passe. And havinge nowe perfit intelligence of the good mindes whiche the Magistrats of Franckford beare towardes yow, and others oure scattered countrie men; and also understandinge of the free graunt of a churche unto us, wherin we maie together serve God; and not dowtinge of their farther friendshipp in permittinge us franckly to use our religion accordinge to that godly Order sett forthe and receaved in England, we bothe geve God thankes for so great a benefit, and also thinke it not fit to refuse so friendly an offer, or to let slippe so good an occasion. Therfore, neither dowtinge of their good furtherance hereunto, nor yet distrustinge your good conformitie and ready desires in reducinge the Englishe churche, now begun there, to it's former perfection of the laste had in Englande, so farre as

possiblie can be atteined, least by muche alteringe of the same we shulde seeme to condemne the chief authors therof, who as they nowe suffer, so are they moste redie to confirme that facte with the price of their blouds, and shulde also bothe geve occasion to our adversaries to accuse oure doctrine of imperfection, and us of mutabilitie, and the godly to dowte in that truthe wherin before they were perswaded, and to hinder their comminge hither whiche before they had purposed. For the avoidinge of these and the obtaininge of the other, moved hereunto in conscience and provoked by your jentle letters, we have thought it expedient to sende over unto yow, oure beloved Brethern, the bringers hereof to travell withe the Magistrats and yow concerninge the premisses, whose wisedomes, learninge, and godly zeale, as they be knowen unto yow, so their doings in this shall fullie take place with us. And yf they obtaine that, whiche we truste will not be denied at no hands, then we intend (God willinge) to be with yow the firste of February next, there to helpe to set in order and stablishe that churche accordingly; and so longe altogether to remaine with yow as shall be necessary, or untill juste occasion shall call some of us awaie. And we dowte not but that our brethern of Zurick, Emden, Duesbrough, &c., will do the same accordingly, as we have praied them by oure letters, trustinge that yow by yours will make like requeste. Fare ye well from Strasbrough, this 23. of November.

Your loving Freinds,

JAMES HADDON.	MIGHELL REYMUGER.[1]
EDWIN SANDS.	AUGUSTINE BRADBRIDGE.
EDMOND GRINDALL.	ARTHUR SAULE.
JOHN HUNTINGTON.	THOMAS STEWARD.
GUIDO EATEN.	CHRIST. GOODMAN.
JOHN GEOFFRYE.	HUMPHRY ALCOCSON.
JOHN PEDDER.	THO. LAKIN.
THOMAS EATEN.	THO. CRAFTON.

[1] Or Michael Reniger, afterwards Prebendary of Winchester. He survived till 1609. See note in Newcourt's "Repertorium," vol. i. p. 204.

This letter was red to the congregation, at whiche tyme Maister Grindall declared the occasion of ther comminge, whiche (amonge other things) was chieflie for thestablishinge of the Booke of England, not that they mente (as he saied) to have it so strictly observed, but that suche ceremonies and thinges whiche the countrie coulde not beare might well be omitted, so that they might have the substance and effecte therof. Maister Knox and Whittingham asked them what they meante by the substance of the Booke. It was answered, by the other, that they had no commission to dispute those matters, but they requested that the congregation would answere to certeine interogatories, whiche were theis: First, that they might knowe what partes of the Book they would admit; the seconde was for a severall Churche; and the thirde, what assurance they might have for their quiete habitation. To the firste, answere was made, That what they coulde prove of that Booke to stande withe God's Worde, and the countrie permit, that shuld be graunted them. To the seconde, whiche was for a Church, it was tolde them, that they understoode by the Magistrats, the tyme served not to move anie suche matter till the Counsaile brake up at Ausburge.[1] To the third, it was saied, that a generall Graunt was made at their first comminge thither to the whole Nation, and the fredome of the Citie offred to all suche as were desyrous off it, in as large and ample manner as they coulde require; whiche was to them assurance sufficient.

Theis three Questions thus answered, Maister Chambers and Maister Grindall departe back againe with a letter from the Congregation, whiche was as followethe:

Grace, Mercy, and Peace, &c.

As it was ever moste true, so at this present we feele most sensiblie, that where so ever God layeth the foundation to builde

[1] A Diet of the Empire had been summoned, to be held at Augsburg, to confirm and perfect the plan of religious pacification, according to the treaty of Passau, in 1552. The Diet was held in the beginning of 1555. —(See Robertson's Charles V., book xi.)

his glory, there he continueth till he bringe the same to a present worke: All thanks and praise be unto Him therefore, that hathe moved your hartes so as in no point ye seeme to forslowe your diligence to the furtheraunce of the same. And as the worke is of moste excellencie, so the adversaries cease not most craftely to undermine it, or at the leaste, through false reportes and defacing of the worke begun, to staie the laborers whiche shulde travell in the finishinge therof. But Truthe ever cleareth it self, and as the sonne consumethe the clowds, so misreportes by triall are confounded. Oure Brethern sent from yow can certifie yow at length touchinge the particulers of your letter, to whom we have in all things agreed whiche semed expedient for the state of this Congregation. As for certeine Ceremonies whiche the Order of the Countrie will not beare, we necessarily omit with as litle alteration as is possible, (which in your letters ye require,) so that no adversary is so impudent that dare either blame oure doctrine of imperfection, or us of mutabilitie, excepte he be altogether willfull ignorante, rather seekinge howe to finde faultes then to amend them. Nether doe we dissente from them whiche lie at the raunsome of their blouds, for the doctrine wherof they have made a moste worthye confession.

And yet we thinke not that anye godlie man will stande to the deathe in the defence of Ceremonies, whiche (as the Booke specifiethe) upon juste causes maie be altered and chaunged.

And yf the not full usinge of the Booke cause the godly to dowte in that truthe wherin before they were perswaded, and to staye theyr comminge hither, accordinge as they purposed; either it signifieth that they were verye slenderly taught whiche for breach of a ceremonie will refuse suche a singuler benefit, or ells that yow have harde them misreported by some false brethern, who, to hinder this worthie enterprise, spare not to sowe in everie place, store of suche poore reasons. Laste of all it remainethe that ye write, that the firste of February nexte yow will come to helpe to set in order and establishe this

Churche accordingly; whiche thinge, as we moste wishe for your companies sake, and for that ye might see oure godly orders alreadie here observed; so we put yow owte of dowte, that for to appointe a journey for the establishing of Ceremonies, shulde be more to your charges then anie generall profit, excepte ye were determined to remaine with us longer then two monethes, as ye write to our countriemen at Densbrorow and Emden; whiche letters notwithstandinge are nowe staid, and as apearethe we never the neere.

We referre the reste to oure brethern, Maister Chambers and Maister Grindall, who by their diligent inquisition have learned so farre of our state, as we wrote unto yow in our former letters; that is, that we have a Churche freely graunted to preach God's Word purely, to minister the Sacraments sincerely, and to execute Discipline truly. And as touchinge our Booke, we will practise it so farre as God's Worde dothe assure it, and the State of this countrie permit. Fare ye well. At Franckfurd, this 3. of December.

Your lovinge freinds,

GEORGE WHETNALL.	JOHN SAMFORD.
THOMAS WHETNALL.	JOHN FOX.
JOHN KNOX.	WILLIAM KETHE.
JOHN BALE.	JOHN MAKEBRAIE.
WILLIAM WHITINGHAM.	WILLIAM WALTON.
EDWARD SUTTON.	MIGHELL GILL.
THOMAS WOOD.	LAURENCE KENT.
WILLIAM WILLIAMS.	JOHN HOLLINGHAM.
JOHN STANTON.	

The answere to this letter from Strausbrough was as followeth:

Grace, Mercy, and Peace, &c.

WE have receaved your letters, and also your answere in wrytinge concerninge certeine Articles, and do perceyve, aswell by the same as by Maister Chambers and Maister Grindall,

your state. But for so muche as your opinion is, that the tyme dothe not presently serve to move the Magistrats in those requests, the obteininge wherof was the principall cause of our sending unto yow; we cannot at this present condescend uppon anie generall meetinge, at anie certeine tyme, either to remaine with yow or otherwise. And therfore, if yow shall certeinly perceave a time convenient that the Magistrats may be traveled withall, aswell for the good and quiete habitation of the commers, and especially students, as also a severall churche, and to knowe whither the exercise of the Booke shall be used, suche we meane as no reasonable man shall justly reprove, and that the certeintie of theis matters maie be knowen at the Magistrats hands:

Then, (yf yow can let us have intelligence,) we will farther consulte what is to be done on oure parte, trustinge God shall directe us to do so as maye be moste to his glorie in the ende, howesoever the presente tyme shall judge of it. From Strausbrough this 13. of December,

Your loving freinds, &c.

as in the letters before. [*See page* 16.]

When this letter was redd to the Congregation, they requested, that for so muche as the lerned men coulde not condescend uppon any generall and certeine tyme of meetinge, as nowe appeared by their letters, they might conclude uppon some certeine Order by common consent still to continewe, and that withowte farther delaye, and also to have the Holie Communion ministred, whiche the moste part ernestlie desired. At length (it was agreed that the order of Geneva, whiche then was alreadie printed in Englishe, and some copies there amonge them,) shulde take place as an Order moste godly, and fardeste off from superstition. But Maister Knox beinge spoken unto, aswell to put that Order in practise, as to minister the Communion, refused to do either the one or the other; affirminge, that for manie considerations he coulde not consente that the same

Order shulde be practised, till the lerned men of Strausbrough, Zurik, Emden, &c., were made privy. Neither yet woulde he minister the Communion by the Booke of Englande, for that there were thinges in it placed (as he saied) onely by warrant of man's authoritie, and no grownde in Godd's Worde for the same, and had also a longe tyme verye superstitiously in the Masse byn wickedly abused. But yf he might not be suffred to minister the Sacraments accordinge to his conscience, he then requested that some other might minister the Sacraments, and he woulde onely preache: If neither coulde be admitted, he besought them that he might be discharged. But to that the Congregation woulde in no wise consent.

Whiles these things were thus in handlinge, came Maister Lever (before elècted), who, assemblinge the Congregation, requested that he might, withe their consentes appointe suche an Order, as shulde be bothe godly withowt respecte of the Booke of Geneva or anye other; requestinge farther, that for so muche as that office was of so great importaunce, and that he had not byn in the like before, that he might betweene that and Easter have a triall of them, and they of him, and so at the ende of that terme either take or refuse: whiche time of triall, as it was willingly graunted him, so when they understoode that the Order whiche he woulde place and use was not altogether suche as was fit for a right reformed churche, they woulde in nowise yelde to the same.

Knox, Whittingham, and others, perceyvinge that theis beginnings woulde growe to some what, yf it were not staid in time, drewe forthe a platt[1] of the whole Booke of England into the Lattin tonge, sendinge the same to Maister Calvin of Geneva, and requestinge his judgement therin, and shewinge him that some of their countrie men went abowte to force them to the same, and woulde admit no other, sayinge, that it was an Order moste absolute, and that yf ever they came into their Countrie

[1] A model, plan, or summary.

they woulde do their beste to establishe it againe. Nowe folowethe the Description:

A Description of the Liturgie, or Booke of Service, that is used in Englande.

Firste of all, morninge praier offreth it self. The minister havinge put on a white garment (whiche they call a Surplesse) beginninge withe some sentence of Holie Scripture, as for example: "Yf we shall saie that we have no sinne, we deceyve oure selves," &c., or some suche of like sorte. Then he takethe in hande the Exhortation, whiche stirreth up to a Confession of synnes, whiche the minister pronounceth with a loude voice, the people sainge after him. To this is added an Absolution, and when these thinges are done, he rehersethe the Lordes Praier, and afterward, "Lorde, open thow my lyppes! And my mouthe shall shewe forth thy praise. O God, be redie to be my helpe!" &c. Then, "Come and let us singe unto the Lorde," &c. By and by also there folowe three Psalmes together at thende of every one. Then foloweth the first lesson, whiche conteinethe a whole chapiter of the Olde Testament. After this lesson, they saie or singe, "We praise thee, O Lorde," or "Blessed be the Lorde," &c. Then another lesson owte of the Newe Testamente, unlesse peradventure the solemnization of some highe feast have other set and apointed lessons. Nowe in Cathedrall churches they utter their lessons in plaine songe, and then afterwards is Benedictus added. This booke warnethe that they keepe this order through owte the whole yere. Afterwards the Crede is pronounced by the minister, (all the people in the meane tyme standing up) afterwards fallinge downe uppon their knees, the minister saithe, "The Lorde be with yow;" the answere, "And with thy spirite." Then, "Lorde, have mercy upon us! Christe, have mercy upon us! Lorde, have mercy upon us," &c., "Our Father," &c., pronounced owte alowde off all, with all boldnesse. Then the minister, when he

standeth upp, saithe, "O Lorde, shewe us thy mercy!" The answere, "And geve unto us thy savinge helthe! O Lord, save the King, in the day wherin we shall call upon thee. Indue thy ministers withe righteousnes! And make thy chosen people joyfull. O Lorde, save thy people! and blesse thyne inheritaunce. Geve peace in our tyme, O Lorde!" &c. At lengthz, Collects are had in place of a Conclusion; the firste for the Daie, the seconde for Peace, the laste is for the obteininge of Grace.

Nowe, the eveninge praiers are saide in a manner as the other are, savinge, that after the firste lesson foloweth, "My soule doth magnifie the Lorde." After the second lesson, "Now, Lorde," &c., and in steed of that collect, "God whiche arte the Author of peace," is used, "O God, from whom all holie desiers," &c. Besides, there is caution added, that all ministers shall exercise them selves continually aswell in morninge praiers as eveninge praiers, except perhapps by studie in dyvinitie, or some other busynes, they be greatly and necessarely let or hindred. Besides, uppon every Sabothe daie, Wensdaie, and Fridaie, there is yet in use certeine suffrages devised of Pope Gregory, whiche beginnethe after this manner: "O God the Father of heaven, have mercy uppon us miserable synners! O God the Sonne, Redemer of the worlde," &c., onely leavinge owte the Invocation of Saincts, otherwise we use a certaine conjuringe of God: "By the misterie of his incarnation, by his holy nativitie and circumcision, by his baptisme, fastinge, and temptation; by his agonie and bloudie sweate," &c., yea, it comprehendethe in plaine wordes a praier to be delivered from suddain deathe, the people answeringe to the ende of every clause, either, "Spare us, good Lorde!" or ells, "Good Lord, deliver us!" or, "We beseche thee to heare us, good Lorde!" "O Lambe of God, that taketh awaie the sinnes of the worlde," is thrise repeated: then, "Lorde, have mercy upon us," thrise; and then the Lord's Praier, with this praier also, "O Lord, deale not with us after our sinnes," to the same adjoined; passinge over

some things, least we shulde seeme to syfte all those drosses which remaine still amonge us.

Nowe, the manner of the Supper is thus: The nomber of three, at the leaste, is counted a fitt nomber to communicate, and yet it is permitted (the pestilence, or some other common sicknes, beinge amonge the people) the minister alone maie communicate with the sicke man in his house. First therfore the minister muste be prepared after this manner, in a whit lynnin garmente (as in sayinge the other Service he is apointed), and muste stande at the northe side of the table. Then is had the Lord's Praier after the custome, then he reciteth the collect, and after folowe in order the ten commaundements; but so notwithstanding, that every one of the people maye answere: "Lorde, have mercy upon us! and inclyne oure hartes to keepe this lawe." After the rehersall of the Commandements, the Collect of the daie (as it is called) and an other for the Kinge is had. By and by the Epistle and Gospell folowethe, to witt, suche as the callender apointethe for that daie. And there in this place there is a note, that everie holy daye hathe his collect, epistle, and gospell, whiche fill 73. great leaves of the Booke, when the reste fill scarse fiftie. For all holy daies are nowe in like use as were amonge the Papistes, onelye verye fewe excepted.

Then he goethe forwardes to the Crede, and after that to the Sermon (if there be anie). Afterwardes the parishe-priest byddeth[1] the holie dayes and fastes on their eves, if there be anye that weeke. And here the Booke warnethe that none defraude the parishe-priest of his due or right, specially on those feast-daies, that are dedicated to offrings. Then foloweth a praier for the state of the churche militaunte, and that not withowte a longe heape and mixture of matters, untill they come (after a certeine confession of sinnes) to lift up your hartes, the people answeringe, "We geve thankes to the Lorde. Let us geve thanks to our Lorde God." The answer, "It is

[1] Announceth, maketh intimation of.

meete and right so to do. It is verie meete, right, and our bownden dewtie," &c., untill they come to that clause: "O Lorde, Holie Father," &c., and so the preface accordinge to the feaste is added. Afterwards he saithe, "Therfore withe Angells and Archangells," and so endethe with, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God," till he come to, "Hosanna in the highest." Nowe the priest bowethe his knee, acknowledginge oure unworthynes in the name of all them that shall receive; and settinge owte God's mercy, he besechethe God that oure bodies maye be made cleane by his bodie, and that our soules maie be washed through his bloude. And then he againe standeth up, and takethe in hande afreshe another praier appointed for this purpose, in which are conteined the wordes of the Institution; all whiche being donne, he first communicateth; then by and by he saithe to another, knelinge, "Take, and eate this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feede on him in thy harte by faithe with thankes gevinge."

Now, abowte th'ende the Lordes Praier is used againe, the minister sayinge it alowde, and all the people folowinge; to conclude, they have a gevinge of thanks in th'ende, withe "Glory to God in the highest," as it was used amonge the Papistes. Yf it happen that there be no Sermon, onely a fewe thinges are omitted, but all other thinges are done in order aforesaid.

In Baptisme, the godfathers are demaunded in the name of the childe, "Whither they renownce the devell and all his workes, the lustes of the worlde," &c., and they answere, "I renownce them." Then, whither they believe the Artikles of the Faithe? whiche beinge confessed, "Wilte thow," saith he, turninge himself to bothe the witnesses, "be baptized into this faithe?" and they saie, "Yea, I will." After a fewe thinges rehersed, he takethe the child and dippeth it in, but warely and discretly, as it is in the Booke; uppon whose forehead also he shall make a crosse, in token forsoothe that when he is olde he shall not be ashamed to confesse the faithe of Christe crucified. Afterward, sendinge awaie the godfathers and godmothers, he charg-

eth them, that they bringe the childe to be confirmed of the Bishopp as soone as he can saie the Articles of the Faithe, the Lordes Praier, and the Ten Commaundements. And seinge there be many causes, as the Booke saithe, whiche shulde move them to the Confirmation of children, this forsoothe of all others is the waightiest, that by imposition of hands they maie receive strength and defence against all temptations of sinne, and the assaults of the world and the devell; bicause that when children come to that age, partlie by the frailtie of their owne fleshe, partly by the assaults of the worlde and the devell, they beginn to be in daunger. And leaste anie shulde think any error to be in this Confirmation, therfore they take a certeine pamflett of a Catechisme, which consisteth of the Articles of the Faithe, the Lordes Praier, and Ten Commandements, and all this is dispatched in lesse then two leaves.

To these is joyned their manner of Mariage, of whiche, that we maie passe over many petty ceremonies, these follies who can suffer? The husbande laithe downe a ringe upon the booke, whiche the minister takinge, he gevethe it in his hande, and biddethe him to put it on the fourth finger of his wife's left hande. Then he usethe this forme of wordes: "With this ringe (saithe he) I thee wedd, withe my body I thee worship, withe all my worldly goods I thee endue: In the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghoste."

A litle after, the minister saithe to the newe maried persons, knelinge before the Lordes Table: "Lorde, have mercy uppon us! Christ, have mercy upon us! Lorde, have mercy uppon us! Oure Father which arte, &c. Lorde, save thy servaunt and thy handmaide," &c.; and so a few things beinge rehersed they muste be brought to the Lordes Supper.

The visitation of the sicke is after this manner: "Peace be to this howse." The answere, "And to all that dwell in the same." "Lorde, have mercy upon us! &c., Our Father, &c., Lorde, save thy servaunte." Answere, "Whiche trustethe in thee." "Sende forthe thy helpe from thy holy hil, and withe

spede save him," &c., as in the other prefaces, withe questions and answers. Of the Buriall:

The priest meetethe the corse at the entraunce of the churcheyarde, either singing or softly pronouncinge, "I am the Resurrection and the Liffe," &c. "I knowe that my Redemer lyvethe."—(Job xix.) Beinge come to the grave, it is sayed, "Man borne of a woman."—(Job ix.) When the earthe is throwen in, "We committ (saithe he) earthe to earthe, duste to duste," &c. "The Lorde hathe geven, the Lorde hathe taken." "I harde a voice from heaven, sayenge, 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lorde.'" "Lorde have mercy uppon us," &c.

The Purification of women in childbed, whiche they call gevinge of Thankes, is not only in all things withe us almoste common withe the Papistes, but also with the Jewes, bycause they are commaunded, instede of a lambe or dove, to offer monie.

Other thinges, not so muche shame it self,[1] as a certeine kinde of pitie compelleth us to keepe close; in the meane season, nothinge diminishinge the honor due to those Reverende men, who partely beinge hindred by those times, and by the obstinacie, and also multitude of Adversaries, (to whom nothinge was ever delightfull besides their owne corruptions,) beinge as it were overflowen, did alwaies in their minde, continually as muche as they coulde, strive to more perfect thinges.

NOTE.—*That this Description is verye favourably put downe. yf ye conferre it with the Booke of Order in all points, and the Usage of the Booke in many churches of this realme, yow can confesse no lesse. And hereof ye maie gather what M. Calvin wouldde have written, yf they had noted all the abuses of the same.*

[1] Knox and Whittingham ashamed to open some things.—(*Marg. note.*)

THE ANSWERE AND JUDGEMENTE OF THAT FAMOUS AND EXCELLENT LERNED MAN, MAISTER JOHN CALVIN, THE LATE PASTOR OF GENEVA, TOUCHINGE THE BOOKE OF ENGLANDE, AFTER THAT HE HAD PERUSED THE SAME FAITHFULLY TRANSLATED OWTE OF LATTEN BY MAISTER WHITTINGHAM.[1]

To the godly and lerned men, MAISTER JOHN KNOX and MAISTER WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM, his faithfull brethren at Frankford, &c.

THIS thinge trulie grevethe me very muche, and it is a great shame that contention shulde arise amonge Brethern, banished and driven owte of their countrie for one Faithe, and for that cause whiche onely ought to have holden yow bounde together, as it were withe an holy bande in this your dispersion. For what might yow do better in this dolorous and miserable plague, then (beinge pulled violently from your Countrie) to procure your selves a Church, whiche shulde receive and nourishe yow (beinge joyned together in mindes and languadge) in her motherly lappe? But nowe for some men to strive as touchinge the forme of Praier, and for Ceremonies, as though ye were at reste and prosperitie, and to suffer that to be an impedimente that ye cannot there joyne into one body of the Churche, (as I think) it is too muche owte of season.

Yet notwithstanding I allowe their constancie whiche strive for a juste cause, beinge forced againste their willes unto contention; I do worthely condemne frowardnes, whiche dothe

[1] This letter forms the concluding portion of a tract, entitled, "The Judgement of Foraign Divines, as well from Geneva as other parts, touching the Discipline, Liturgie, and Ceremonies of the Church of England. Whereunto is added, A Letter from Mr Iohn Calvin to Mr Knox, concerning the English Common-Prayer, after he had perused the same. London, printed, and are to be sold in Westminster Hal, Pauls Churchyard, and Popes Head-Alley, 1660." 4to, pp. 32.

hinder and staie the holye carefullnes of reforminge the churche.

And as I behave myself gentle and tractable in meane things (as externall Ceremonies), so doe I not alwaies judge it profitable to geve place to their foolishe stowtenes, whiche will forsake nothinge of their oulde wonted custome. In the Liturgie of Englande, I see that there were manye tollerable foolishe thinges;[1] by theis wordes I meane, that there was not that puritie whiche was to be desired. These vices, thoughe they coulde not at the firste daie be amended, yet seinge there was no manifeste impietie, they were for a season to be tollerated. Therfore, it was lawfull to begin of suche rudimentes or Absedaries,[2] but so that it behoved the lerned, grave, and godly Ministers of Christe to enterprise farther, and to set foorthe some thinge more filed from ruste, and purer. Yf godly religion had florished till this daie in Englande, there ought to have been a thinge better corrected, and manie thinges cleane taken awaie. Nowe when these principles be over throwne, a Churche muste be set up in another place, where ye maie freely make an Order againe, whiche shall be apparent to be moste commoditious to the use and edification of the churche. I cannot tell what they meane whiche so greatly delite in the leavinges of Popishe dregges: They love the thinges wherunto they are accustomed: Firste of all, that is a thinge bothe triflinge and childishe;[3] furthermore, this newe Order farre differeth from a chaunge.

Therfore, as I woulde not have yow feirce over them whose infirmitie will not suffer to ascend an higher steppe; so woulde I advertise other, that they please not them selves too muche in their foolishnes; also, that by their frowardnes, they doe not let the course of the holie buildinge; laste of all, least that foolishe vaine glorie steale them awaie. For what cause

[1] Many tollerable foolishe things in the book by Calvin's judgement.—(*Marg. note.*)

[2] Abecedary, belonging to the alphabet.

[3] The Booke trifling and childishe by Calvin's judgement.—(*Marg. note.*)

have they to contende, excepte it be for that they are ashamed to geve place to better thinges? But I speake in vaine to them whiche perchaunce esteeme me not so well, as they will vouchsafe to admitt the consaile that commethe from suche an authour. If they feare the evell rumor in Englande, as though they had fallen from that Religion which was the cause of their banishment, they are farre deceived; for this true and sincere Religion will rather compell them that theire remaine, faithfully to consider in to what deepe gulff they have fallen; for there downefall shall more grevously wounde them, when they perceyve your goinge forwarde beyonde mid course, from the whiche they are turned. Fare ye well, dearely beloved Brethern, and faithfull Servants of Christe; the Lorde defende and governe yow. From Geneva, this 20. of Jan. anno 1555.

Your, JOHN CALVIN.[1]

When this letter of Calvin's was redd to them of the Congregation, it so wrought in the hartes of many, that they were not before so stowte to maintaine all the parts of the Booke of England, as afterwards they were bent against it. But nowe to returne: Whiles these things were in doyinge, the Congregation (as yow have harde afore) coulde not agree upon anie certeine Order; till after longe debatinge to and fro, it was concluded, that Maister Knox, Maister Whittingham, Maister Gilby, Maister Fox, and Maister T. Cole, shulde drawe forthe some Order meete for their state and time; whiche thinge was by them accomplished and offred to the Congregation (beinge the same Order of Geneva whiche is nowe in print[2]). This Order was verie well liked of many; but suche as were bent to the Booke of Englande coulde not abide it; yea, contention grewe at length so hot, and the one partye which sought sinceritie, so sore charged with newfanglednes and singularitie, and to be

[1] The original letter will be subjoined to these Extracts.

[2] This Order, or Forme of Prayers, &c., will be reprinted in the present volume, from the original edition at Geneva, 1556.

the stirrers of contention and unquietnes, that Maister Gilby, with a godly grief, (as well apeared) kneled downe before them,[1] and besought them (withe teares) to reforme their judgementes, solemelie protestinge, that (in this matter) they sought not themselves, but onely the glorie of God, as he was verely perswaded; wishinge farther, that that hande whiche he then helde up were stricken off, if by that a godly peace and unitie might ensue and followe. In th'ende, an other waie was taken by the Congregation, whiche was, that Maister Knox and Maister Whittingham, Maister Parry and Maister Leaver, shulde devise some Order, yf it might be, to ende all strife and contention.

Theis four assembled for that purpos. And first, Maister Knox spake to the reste in this wise:[2] "For so muche (saithe he) as I perceive that no ende of contention is to be hoped for, unlesse the one parte somethinge relent, this will I doe for my parte, that quietnes maie insue. I will shewe my judgement howe (as I think) it maie be beste for the edification of this poore flocke; whiche if ye will not accepte nor followe (after that I have discharged my conscience), I will cease, and commit the whole matter to be ordered by yow, as yow will answere before Christ Jesus at the laste daie, and to this his congregation in this life," &c. Wherupon after some conference, an Order was agreed upon; some parte taken forthe of the Englishe Booke and other things put to, as the state of that churche required.

And this Order, by the consent of the Congregation, shulde continewe to the laste of Aprill folowing.[3] Yff anie contention shulde arise in the meane time, the matter then to be determined by theis five notable learned men, to wete, Calvin, Musculus, Martyr, Bullinger, and Vyret. This agremente was put in wrytinge. To that all gave their consentes. This daie was

[1] The humblenes of Gilby, and his godly zeele.—(*Marg. note.*)

[2] The modestie of Knox.—(*Ib.*)

[3] This order was taken the 6. of February.—(*Marg. note.*)

joyfull. Thankes were geven to God, brotherly reconciliation folowed, great familiaritie used, the former grudges seemed to be forgotten. Yea, the holie communion was, uppon this happie agremente, also ministred. And this freindship continued till the 13. of March folowinge, at whiche tyme D. Coxe,[1] and others with him, came to Frankford[2] owte of Englande, who began to break that Order whiche was agreed uppon; firste, in answeringe alowde after the minister, contrary to the churches determination. And beinge admonished therof by the Seniors of the congregation, he, with the rest that came withe him, made answere, that they woulde do as they had done in Englande, and that they would have the face of an English churche. And the Sundaie folowinge, one of his company, withowt the consent and knowledge of the congregation, gate upp suddainly into the pulpit, redd the Lettany, and D. Cox withe his companie answered alowde; wherby the determination of the churche was broken. The same Sundaie at after noone, it came to Maister Knox his turne to preache, who havinge passed so farre in Genesis that he was come to Noah as he laie open in his tente, he spake theis wordes folowinge:

"As divers thinges (saithe he) ought to be kepte secret,[3] evenso suche thinges as tend[4] to the dishonor of God and disquieting of his churche, ought to be disclosed and openly reproved." And therupon he shewed, howe that after longe trouble and contention amonge them, a godly agremente was made; and howe that the same that daie was ungodly broken; "whiche thinge became not (as he said) the prowdest of them all to have attempted: alleadginge furthermore, that like as by the Worde of God we muste seeke oure warrant for the establishing of Religion, and withowt that, to thruste nothinge into anie Christian congregation: so for as muche as in the Englishe Booke were thinges bothe superstitious, unpure, and

[1] Dr Richard Cox.

[2] D. Cox, with others, come to Frankford.—(*Mary. note.*)

[3] The effecte of Knox's sermon.—(*Mary. note.*)

[4] In the orig. edit. "end."

unperfect (which he offred to prove before all men), he would not consent that of that Churche it shulde be received; and that in case men woulde go abowte to burden that free Congregation therwith, so ofte as he shulde come in that place (the Texte offringe occasion) he woulde not faile to speak against it.

"He farther affirmed, That amonge many thinges whiche provoked God's anger againste Englande, slacknes to reforme Religion (when tyme and place was graunted) was one. And therfore it became them to be circumspecte howe they laid their foundation. And where some men ashamed not to saie, that there was no lett or stopp in Englande, but that Religion might be, and was already brought to perfection, he proved the contrary, by the wante of Discipline: also by the troubles which Maister Hooper sustained for the Rochet, and such like, in the Booke commanded and allowed. And for that one man was permitted to have three, four, or five benefices, to the great slaunder of the Gospell, and defraudinge of the flock of Christe of their lively foode and sustenaunce."

These were the chief notes of his Sermon, whiche was so stomaked of some, especially of suche as had many livinges in Englande, that he was verye sharplie charged and reproved so soone as he came owte of the pulpit, for the same.[1]

The Twesdaie folowinge was appointed to talke of these thinges more at large. When all were assembled, earneste requeste was made that Dr Coxe with his companie might be admitted to have voices in the congregation. Answere was made by others, That the matter yet in controversie amonge them ought firste to be determined. Secondly, That they shuld subscribe to Discipline, as others had done before them;[2] and farther, yt was greatly suspected that they had byn (some of them) at masse in Englande, and others had subscribed to wicked Articles, as one of them shortly after, even in the pul-

[1] Dr Coxe sharply rebuked him.—(*Marg. note.*)

[2] But that they refused, and at length over threw yt.—(*Marg. note.*)

M. JEWELL. pit, sorowfully confessed. For theis considerations, and suche like, the Congregation withstoode the admission of Dr Coxe and his companie. Knox at laste began to make intretie that they might have their voices amonge the reste; to whose requeste, when certeine had yelded, they then became the greater parte, and so were by them admitted as members of the Churche. They thus admitted, by [being] the moste parte, Dr Coxe foorthwith forbad Knox to meddle anye more in that congregation.

The nexte daie beinge Wensdaie, Whittingham wente to Maister John Glauburge,[1] (who was the chief meane in obtaininge the Churche,) and brake the matter unto him, declaringe howe that certeine, nowe come owte of Englande, had forbidden their Minister appointed to preache that daie, and intended to set upp an other, whiche he dowted woulde not be well taken. And therfore, leaste anie inconvenience shulde happe, he thought good to make him privie therto. Wherupon the saied Magistrat sent immediatlie, and gave commaundement that ther shulde be no sermon that daie. Afterwarde he sent for Valeran, the Frenche Minister, commaundinge him that two lerned men shulde be appointed of either parte, and that he and they shulde consulte and agree uppon some good Ordre, and to make report unto him accordingly. Then were apointed Dr Coxe and Lever, of the one side, and Knox and Whitingham, on the other side. To decide the matter, Valeran was appointed to put downe in writinge what they shulde agree upon. But when in this conference they came to the order of Mattins, and that Dr Coxe said, *Ego volo habere*, there coulde be no agrement amonge them, and so brake off. Wherupon the Congregation drew up a Supplication in Latten, and presented it to the saied Maister Glauburge, requestinge him to be a meane that the same might be considered of amonge the Senators: the Englishe wherof was as folowethe:

[1] Knox put owt by those which he brought in.—(*Marg. note.*)

THE SUPPLICATION TO THE SENATE.

"LET it not molest yow (moste grave and worthie Senators) that your affayres are letted with a fewe wordes. And leaste we shulde trouble yow with prolixitie, yow shall understande the matter briefly. When your great and unspeakable humanitie, through the providence of God had graunted us a Churche, we undertooke forthwith (as became us) to consulte abowte the orders of the same, and to set owt a Liturgie. And bicause we sawe that in the prolixe and ceremonious booke of the Liturgie of Englande, be manie thinges (that we maie speake no worse of it) not moste perfecte; it seemed beste to reduce it to the perfect rule of the Scriptures, and to accommodate our selves to the ensamples of that churche wherein we teache, and to whom we have subscribed. But when this enterprise offended some of oure countriemen, (althoughe the greatest nomber agreed unto us,)[1] for that we woulde decline from the decrees of our Elders; here uppon there grewe to us for a fewe monethes no small trouble.

"At the length, when there appeared no ende, for peace and concordes sake we gave place to their will, and suffred them, at their pleasure, to pike owte of their Booke the chiefest or beste thinges, upon this condition, that the same shulde continewe with owte alteration, at the leaste unto the laste daie of Aprill; at the whiche daie (if there shulde anie newe contention arise), that then all the matter shulde be referred to these five notable men, Calvin, Musculus, Martyr, Bullinger, and Viret. What nedethe manie wordes? This condition was willingly accepted, and the covenaunte rated on bothe partes. A writinge was also therof to testifie the promesse made of the one to the other. Moreover, thankes were geven to God withe great joye, and common praiers were made, for that men thought that daie to be th'ende of discorde. Besides this, they receyved the Communion as the sure token or seale of their

[1] To wit, The Frenche Churche.—(*Marg. note.*)

mutuall agremente, whiche was omitted before by the space of three monethes. Valeran, also, the Frenche minister, was partaker of this Communion, and a furtherer of concorde, and a wittnes of theis thinges. Nowe of late daies, certeine of our countreymen came to us, who have indevored by all meanes to obtrude that huge volume of Ceremonies upon us, to break the covenaunte, and to overthrough the libertie of the Churche, graunted by your benevolence. And no dowte, this they enterprise and minde to do under the title and name of your defence, wherby they maie abuse the authoritie of your name, to satisfie their luste. We are here compelled to omitte manie thinges whiche woulde make for oure cause, no lesse rightly then profitably; but we remit theis to oure Brethern for concordes sake.

"Yow have here, moste honorable Senators, a brief summe of oure case and contention, wherby yow may easilie understande what to judge of the whole matter.

"What manner of Booke this is for the whiche they so cruellie contende, ye maie consider by the epistle that Calvin lately wrote unto us;[1] in the whiche he hathe signified his minde, as well plainly of the Booke, as also of the uprightnesse of oure cause. We coulde have pointed owte unto yow the foolishe and fonde things of the Booke; but passinge over an infinite nomber of thinges, this one will we bringe for manie, the whiche shalbe necessarie well to be marked. Within these three yeres arose a great conflicte betweene the Bishopps of the Realme and the Bishoppe of Glocester,[2] Maister Hooper, a man worthie of perpetuall memorie, whom we heare to be burned of late. This man beinge made Bishopp by Kinge Edwarde, there was obtruded by other bishops of the same order (accordinge to this Booke) a rochet and a bishop's robe; this man being well lerned, and a longe tyme nourished and brought up in Germany, as soone as he refused theis proud thinges that fooles marvell at,

[1] The letter a little before.—(*Marg. note.*) It occurs at page 28; and the original is subjoined at page 51.

[2] This controversie hath byn sithins Kinge Edward his raigne, as ye se. —(*Marg. note.*)

he was caste into prison,[1] and at length by their importunitie overcome; and relentinge, he was compelled, to his shame, to geve place to their impudency, withe the common grief and sorowe of all godlye mindes.

"But wherfore speake yow of theis thinges, will yow saie, that apperteneth nothinge to us? Yes verely, we thinke it toucheth yow verie moche: for yf theis men, armed by your authoritie, shall do what they liste, this evell shalbe in time established by yow, and never be redressed, nether shall there for ever be anie ende of this controversie in Englande. But yf it woulde please your honorable Authoritie to decree this moderation betweene us, that this whole matter may be referred to the judgements of the five above named; not we alone that are here present, but oure whole posteritie, yea oure whole Englishe nation and all good men, to the perpetuall memorie of your names, shalbe bounde unto yow for this great benefit. We might have used moe wordes in this narration, for we feared not that we shulde lake reasons, but rather that tyme shulde faile yow, letted with more serious busines. Therfore we, by theis thinges, leave the reste to the consideration of your Wisdomes."

The 22. of Marche, Maister Glauburge came to the Englishe Churche, and shewed the Congregation, that it was commaunded them by the Magistrates (when by his procurement the Churche was graunted) that they shulde agree withe the Frenche Churche bothe in doctrine and ceremonies, and that they understood howe the fallinge from that Order had bred muche dissention amonge them. Therfore he straitly charged and commaunded, that from thence foorthe they shulde not dissent from that Order; yf they did, as he had opened the Churche doore unto them, so woulde he shutte it againe. And that suche as woulde

[1] Dr John Hooper was appointed to the See of Gloucester in 1550. His refusal to be consecrated in the usual form, and his objections to the use of the surplice and other canonical habits, led to a protracted controversy, and his confinement to his own house, until a compromise was made. His martyrdom took place on the 9th of February 1555.

not obey therunto shulde not tarie within that Citie, willinge them to consulte together owte of hande, and to geve him an answere before he departed. Dr Coxe then spake to the Congregation in this wise: I have (saithe he) redd the Frenche Order, and do thinke it to be bothe good and godly in all pointes; and therfore wished them to obaie the Magistrates commaundement: wherupon the whole Congregation gave consent; so as before the Magistrate departed the Churche, Dr Coxe, Lever, and Whittingham made reporte unto him accordingly. Dr Coxe also, at that presente, requested that it woulde please him, notwithstandinge their ill behaviour, to shewe unto them his accustomed favor and goodnesse; whiche he moste jently and lovinglie promised.

At the nexte meetinge of the Congregation that Order was put in practise, to the comforte and rejoycinge of the moste parte. Nevertheles, suche as woulde so faine have had the Booke of England, lefte not the matter thus. And for that they sawe Knox to be in suche credit withe many of the Congregation, they firste of all assaied by a moste cruell, barbarous, and bloudie practise to dispatche him owte of the waie, to th'ende they might withe more ease attaine the thinge whiche they so gredely sought, whiche was the placinge of their Booke. They had amonge them a booke of his, intituled, "An Admonition to Christians," written in the English tonge;[1] wherin by occasion he spake of the Emperour, of Philip his sonne, and of Marie then Queene of Englande. This booke certeine of them presented to the Magistrates, who (upon receipte of the same) sente for Whittingham, and asked him of Knox their minister, what manner of man he was? Whittingham answered, that suche a one there was amonge them, and to his knowledge, bothe a lerned, wise, grave, and godly man. Then one of the Magistrates saied unto him, Certaine of your countrie men have accused him unto us[2] *Læsæ Majestatis Imperatoriæ*, that is, of

[1] It is republished in vol. iii. pp. 257-330.

[2] Knox accused of treason.—(*Marg. note.*)

high treason againste the Emperour, his Sonne, and the Queene of England. Here is the booke, and the places whiche they have noted,[1] the true and perfect sence wherof we commaunde yow (*sub pœna pacis*) to bringe unto us in the Latten tonge, at one of the clock in the after noone: which thinge he did accordingly; at whiche time (after certeine communication amonge themselves) they commanded that Knox shulde preache no more till their pleasure were farther knowen. The wordes concerninge the Emperour were theis, spoken in the pulpit in a towne of Buckingham shire, in the beginninge of Queene Maries raigne, as by the saied booke apearethe, where it is saied, "O Englande, Englande! yf thow wylte obstinately returne into Egipte; that is, yf thow contracte mariage, confederacy, or league, with suche princes as doe maintaine and advaunce ydolatrie, (suche as the Emperour, who is no lesse enemie to Christ then was Nero); yf for the pleasure and friendship (I saie) of such princes, thow returne to thine oulde abhominations, before used under Papistery, then assuredly (O England!) thow shalt be plagued and brought to desolation, by the meanes of those whose favour thow sekeste, and by whom thow arte procured to fall from Christe, and serve Antechriste."[2] There were other eight places, but this was most noted, in that it touched the Emperour. But it seemed the Magistrates abhorred this bloudy, cruell, and outragious attempt; for that when as certeine of Knox his enemies followed hardly the Magistrates to knowe what shuld be donne with him, they did not onely shewe most evident signes of dislikinge their unnaturall suite, but also sent for Maister Williams and Whittingham, willinge them that Maister Knox shuld depart the city;[3] for otherwise (as they saide) they shuld be forced to deliver him, yf the Emperour his counsaile (whiche then lay at Ausburge[4]) shuld uppon like information send for him.

[1] The places in all were eight.—(*Marg. note.*)

[2] This passage from his Admonition will be found in vol. iii. p. 308.

[3] The banishment of Knox.—(*Marg. note.*)

[4] Augsburg, see p. 17, note 1.

The 25. of Marche, Maister Knox, the night before his departure, made a moste comfortable sermon at his lodginge to 50. persons, or there abowte, then present; which sermon was of the deathe and resurrection of Christe, and of the unspeakable joyes whiche were prepared for Goddes electe, whiche in this life suffer trouble and persecution for the testimonie of his blessed Name. The next daie, he was brought three or four mile in his waie by some of those unto whom the night before he had made that exhortation; who with great heavines of harte and plentie of teares committed him to the Lorde.

A NARRATIVE BY KNOX

OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ENGLISH CONGREGATION AT FRANKFURT, IN MARCH M.D.LV.

THUS have I, says Calderwood,[1] word be[2] word, collected out of a book, entituled, "A Breefe Discourse of the Troubles begunne at Frankfurde," the troubles of Mr Knox for opponing to the English Service Book, in the year 1554, that the Reader may perceive what light he had when light was striving with darkness in Scotland. But because in this printed book there is but one place of many which were alleged out of his book be his Accusers, I have set down more fully that part of the History, AS HE HIMSELF HATH SET IT DOWN WITH HIS OWN HAND.

OUR agreement (meaning of the Four appointed to consult upon some Order[3]) was signified to the Congregation, accepted, and allowed be the same to take place to the last day of Aprile, and then if any contention should arise, that the matter should be referred to the determination of five learned men;[4] as a writing made upon this agreement does testify. Herewith all men seemed to be pleased; no man did speak against it; thanks were given to God, the Lord's Supper was ministered, the Order by us appointed was used, well-liked by many, and by none reproved; till some of those that after came amongst us, before they desired to be admitted of the Church, did begin to break the Order, whereof they were by the Seniors and others

[1] MS. History, British Museum, Addit. MSS. 4734, pp. 214–218.

[2] *Be*, by.

[3] See page 31.

[4] Calvin, Musculus, Peter Martyr, Bullinger, and Viret: See p. 31.

admonished, but no amendment appeared. For they were admonished not to murmur aloud when the minister prayed; but they would not give place, but quarrelled, and said, They would do as they had done in England; and their Church should have an English face. The Lord grant it to have the face of Christ's Church, which is the only matter that I sought, God is my record; and therefore I would have had it agreeable in outward rites and ceremonies with Christian Churches reformed.

But to be short, in the midst of these troubles, Mr Lever, unmindful of his promise and all our agreement, uttereth himself to favour their party. For he hearing and seeing their open misdemeanours would never reprove them, nor being admonished by me and the Seniors, that he should persuade them to cease from the breaking of the Order of the Congregation, did any thing esteem our reasons or requests, nather yit the offence of the Country, but began to treat that the Letanie which answered might be used; to whom when it was answered by the Seniors, that it might not be done without breaking of the Decree of Congregation, I said plainly, if any such thing should be done it should be without my consent. And furthermore, perceiving Mr Lever, not so mindfull of his promise, nor carefull for that small number that called him to be Pastor,[1] as me thought his duty and charge required, I laboured with Mr Valeranus Polanus,[2] a minister of the French Church, that he should admonish him to keep promise made

[1] See page 21. Thomas Lever, Master of St John's College, Cambridge, was ejected in 1553. He was at Zürick when elected by the Frankfurt congregation as one of their ministers (*supra*, page 12). See also in vol. iii. p. 176, note 5.

[2] Valerandus Pollanus was probably a native of Brabant. He became minister of the Church of Strangers, consisting chiefly of French and Walloons, who fled from Strasburg by reason of the Interim, in 1550. These strangers, upon their arrival in England, were encouraged to carry on woollen manufactures by the Duke of Somerset, who had obtained a grant of the dissolved monastery of Glastonbury. Having translated into Latin the Liturgy they used, it was published by Pollanus, with a dedication to Edward the Sixth, at Londini 1551. —(See Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 242; Burn's History of Foreign Re-

to the Congregation, and that he should not serve the affections of man to the contrair. Notwithstanding, the Sunday next following, not consulting with any man that was in office, to the great grief and trouble of the Congregation, Mr Lever brought in one to preach who had been at Masse in England, and had subscribed to blasphemous Articles, who read the Litanie in the pulpit, the people answering, and so the determination agreed and determined by the whole Church was broken (as appeareth) by subtle undermining of Mr Lever, who ought of the same to have been patron and defender, as he was chosen by them Minister and Pastor.

These things done, Orders being broken, and promises also in contempt of that Church whereof I was Minister, and certain invectives made by Mr Lever and others against us who withstood the unprofitable Ceremonies; yit coming to my course the same day after noon to preach, I was moved in heart, and desired by divers to defend the authority of the Church, mine own doctrine, and their doings who were unworthily accused in the self same place where the crimes were committed; because, they truly said, such public offences ought not by the Preacher to be overpassed. Therefore, at the time appointed for the sermon by occasion, I began to declare what opinion I had sometime of the English Book, what moved me from the same, and what was my opinion presently. I had once a good opinion of the Book, I said, but even so, I added, like as yours is at the present that it ought not in all points to be observed. Then afterwards, by the stubborness of such men as would defend the whole, and the deeper consideration of the damnage that might ensue thereof, and by contemplation of our estate, which requireth all our doings to have open defence of the Scriptures, (especially in God's service to admit nothing without God's Word,) I was driven away from my first opinion; and now do I tell them plainly, that as by God's book they must

fugees, p. 91; and Herbert's Typogr. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 770, &c.) There will afterwards be occasion to notice this Liturgy.

seek our warrant for Religion, and without that, we must thrust nothing into any Christian congregation; so because I do find in the English Book (which they so highly praise and advance above all other Orders) things superstitious, impure, unclean, and unperfect, (the which I offered myself ready to prove, and to justify before any man,) therefore I could not agree that their Book should be of our Church received. And furthermore I told them, that it became not the proudest of them all to enterprise the breach of any Order within that church gathered in the name of Christ, because he was head among them, and this I would also justify. At which time, also, I put them in remembrance of the Order taken, and added, moreover, that though we had changed countries, God had not changed his nature. Wherefore, if we from England brought the same vices that we had in England, and obstinately did continue in the same, his justice must needs here punish us in Germany also; and translate us beyond the places of our expectatioun, as were sometimes the Israelites beyond Babylon. Among many sins that moved God to plague England, I affirmed that slackness to reform religion, when time and place was granted, was one, and therefore that it did become us to be circumspect how we did now lay our foundations, and how we went forward. And because that some men nothing ashamed to say, and affirm openly, that there was no impediment nor stop in England, but that Religion might goe furth and grow to the purity, and that it was already brought to perfection; I reproved this opinion as fained and untrue, by the lack of discipline which is not in the Book, neither could in England be obtained; and by the trouble that Mr Hooper sustained for the rochet, and such trifles in the Book allowed; as also, by that which appeared in all men's eyes, that one man was permitted to have power of five benefices, to the slander of the Gospel, and defraudation of Christ's flock of their lively food and sustenance.

How this sermon did exasperate the minds of men by the

instigation of some that seemed to be tuiched therewith, and how I am reported of for the same, though I keep silence, the common bruit declareth.

Upon my complaint and accusation of Order and promise broken, was the Congregation the same night assembled, wherein Mr Lever and Dr Coxe accusing me, I was suffered to say little for the shortness of the time; and the Tuesday following was appointed for the disputation of the same, to the which, when we assembled, no mention was made of the principal matter, but request was made, that such as were lately come to the Congregation should be admitted to have voices in the Congregation. Answer was made, That the question depending ought first to be determined. Secondly, that they should subscribe to Ecclesiastical Discipline, as other their Brethren had done before them; and so they should be admitted. The which two things be[ing] denied and refused, it was again required that such men amongst them as were known to have been at Mass, and to have subscribed to idolatrous Articles, and to have behaved themselves slanderously in Christ's cause and matters of religion, should first of conscience either purge them, or shew some sign of repentance before the Congregation. Fy! Nay! this was abominable injury (say they), and departing twice or thrice, they seemed to be much offended. The most part of the Congregation denied their admission. I only made intercession that they should be admitted, and obtained that which I requested. I said these words: I know that your earnest desire to be received at this instant within the number of the Congregation is, because that by the multitude of your voices you [may] justify a promise-breaker, and so overthrow my cause; howbeit the matter is so evident that ye shall not be able to doe it. Wherefore I fear not your judgement, and therefore doe I require that ye might be admitted. Wherefore I did convict the promise to be broken or no, (because time doth not suffer to prosecute these matters,) I partly remit to the conscience of the adversary, partly to their report, to whom the promise was made, to whom then I ap-

pealed. In the end of this matter I was discharged to preach, and that with authority of Dr Coxe, and such other as then had no authority in the Congregation, but usurped for their well doing in England.

The dayes following, the sermon was delayed by the commandment of the Magistrate, and Dr Coxe, Mr Lever, Mr Whittingham, and I, were appointed to consult of some godly Order; which we did by the space of two dayes in the house of Valeranus Polanus; in the which reasoning, what soberness was found in me I refer to these notes which Mr Valeran did take in writt of our aggreement. But the third day, when the order of Mattins, to begin always with "*Domine labia*," "*Deus in adjutorium*," *et* "*Deum laudamus*," and other prescript words, not read in the Scripture, was called an Order borrowed of the Papists and Papistical; then began the tragedie, and our consultation ended. Who was most blame-worthy, God shall judge; and if I spake fervently, to God was I fervent.

During the time of these our controversies, one Mr Isaack of Kent[1] cometh to my house to move me to relent from my earnestness against the Book, and promiseth me favour; if not, he threateneth somewhat to follow. My answer was, That I could wish my name to perish, so that God's book and his glory might only be sought amongst us. But afterward, this same Mr Isaack, by the counsel of some Preists who seemed to be sore offended with my Sermon, devised how to have me cast into prison; and he reported, he knew well I should not escape. So, seeking to their old shott-anchor, they cried out against me, *Non est Cæsaris amicus*, He is not Cæsar's friend; the which dart the devil doth ever shoot, by the craft of preists, against the true preachers. For when neither doctrine nor life can be reproved in Christ's faithfull servants, yet this serveth at all assayes; yea, though they love the Emperour no more than did the old Pharisees, yet for hatred of their brethren, they can pro-

[1] This was Edward Isaack of Patricksbourn, who was Sherif of Kent, 11 Eliz. [1568–1569.] Hasted's Kent, vol. i. p. xci.

duce such cautels.[1] O Lord God! open their hearts that they may see their wickedness, and forgive them for thy manifold mercies; and I forgive them, O Lord, from the bottom of my heart! But that thy message sent by my mouth should not be slandered, I am compelled to declare the cause of my departing, and so to utter their follies, to their amendment I trust, and the example of others, who in the same banishment can have so cruell hearts to persecute their brethren.

To be short, the said Mr Isaack, and one Parrey, late Chancellor of Salisburie,[2] by the counsell of Dr Coxe, Dr Bale, Turner of Wynsore,[3] Jewell of Oxford,[4] and others, accused me before the Magistrates, in nyne Articles, of high treason against the Emperour, his sonne Philip King of Spaine, and the Queene of England.

My words are these that followeth, in a book named, "The Admonition of Christians, concerning the present troubles of England."[5] First, speaking against idolaters, and how they ought, by the express command of God, to be put to death; and yet reserved by God's providence. I said:

1. If Mary and her Counsellors had been sent to hell before these dayes, her cruelty should not have so manifestly appeared to the world.

[1] Quirks, stratagems.

[2] Henry Parry was appointed Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury in 1547, deprived in 1553, restored in 1559, and died in 1571.

[3] Richard Turner, a native of Staffordshire, and a fellow of Magdalene College, Oxford. He became curate of Chartam in Kent, vicar of Dertford, and preferred to a prebend of Windsor. He assisted John Marbeck, the musician and organist in that church, in his Concordance to the Bible, (as Foxe records in Marbeck's examinations) which was printed in 1550. He was one of the English exiles who settled at Basel; and Foxe states that he died in exile, or previously to 1559. On the 12th Oct. 1558, we find Peter Welthowe was promoted to the vicarage of Hillingden, vacant by the death of Richard Turner. (Wood's Athenæ Oxon. by Bliss, vol. i. p. 277. Tanneri Bibliotheca Britan. p. 727. Newcourt's Repertorium, vol. i. p. 650.)

[4] Dr John Jewel, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.

[5] This title does not correspond with that of the original edition of his "Faythfull Admonition." See vol. iii. p. 257. The passages objected against Knox will be found at pp. 294–308.

2. Jesabel never erected half so many gallowes in all Israel, as mischievous Mary hath done within London alone.

3. Would any of you have confessed, two years agone, that Mary, your mirrour, had been false, dissembling, inconstant, proud, and a breaker of promises, except such promises as she made to your god the Pope, to the great shame and dishonour of her noble Father?

4. The love of her native country could not move that wicked woman's heart to pity.

5. She declareth herself an open traitouress to the Realm of England, contrary to the just lawes of the same, to bring in a stranger, and make a proud Spaniard King, to the destruction of the nobility and subversion of the Realm.

6. If God had suffered her (for our scourge) and her cruell counsell to come to authority, &c.

7. Under an English name she beareth a Spaniard's heart.

8. Much trouble in England for the establishing of that most unhappy and wicked Woman's authority; I meane, of her that now reigneth in God's wrath, &c.

9. Marriage ought not to be contracted with those that are maintainers of Idolatry, such as the Emperour, who is no less enemy to Christ than was Nero.

These places being noted in my book to the Magistrates, I was commanded by them to stay from preaching; and yet being desirous to hear others, I went to the church the next day, not thinking that my company would have offended any. But as soon as my accusers saw me, they, with Dr Coxe and others, departed from the sermon. Some of them protesting, with great vehemency, that they could not tarry where I was present. After few days, the said Isaack and the said Jewell laboured with the Magistrate for sentence and judgement; whereupon they sent for Mr Williams and Mr Whittingham, and commanded them that they should desire me to depart the City.

Thus have ye briefly the cause of my departure, the cause of my Sermon, and the effect of the same, and all my public matters

without any purgation of myself, or argument made for my own defence. One day I do purpose, by the grace of God, to handle this matter more at large;[1] and now, deare Brethren, I do bid you all Fare well in the Lord, the living God, beseeching you to stand fast in that doctrine that ye have of me received, for I taught you not man, nor man's fantasies, but as I learned of the Lord, the true Word of God. If I had cast me to please men, I had not been the servant of God. If I had been a man-pleaser, men would not have persecuted me; but so little do I repent any thing that they lay unto my charge furth of the book called, "The Admonition of Christians," either yet of my Sermon, either of any part of my doctrine or publick doings, that if God shall grant time, the World shall know, and so be better able to judge of my whole Proceedings there.

[1] This purpose, it may be added, was never carried into effect.

Extract from the Brief Discourse, &c.

The nexte daie [the 31st of August 1555], the pastour, Dr Coxe, Maister Parry, and Maister Asheley, sent for Whittingham, Thomas Cole, John Fox, William Kethe, Roger Harte, John Hilton, with certeine other, demandinge of them what shulde be the cause of their departure. Whittingham made answere, that the daie before they had declared sufficiently, and yet woulde farther shewe reasons, yf they would permit the controversie to arbytrement. And to the intent they shulde not counterfait ignorance, (amonge other) theis were some causes:

1. Their breach of promess, established with invocation of Goddes name. 2. Their orderless thrustinge themselves in to the Churche. 3. Takinge awaie the order of Discipline established before their comminge, and placinge no other. 4. The accusation of Maister Knox their godly minister of treason, and seekinge his bloude. 5. Their overthrowinge of the common Order taken and commaunded by the Magistrate. 6. The displacinge of officers withowte anie cause alleadged. 7. The bringing in of Papisticall superstitions and unprofitable ceremonies, whiche were burthens, yokes, and clogges; besides other thinges, whiche, yf they woulde abide the triall, they shulde heare at large. When he and some of the rest had rendred their reasons for their departure to this effecte, certaine warme wordes passed to and fro from the one to the other; and so in some heate departed.

Not many daies after, the oppressed Churche departed from Frankford to Basill and Geneva, some stayinge at Basill, as Maister Fox with others. The rest came to Geneva,[1] where they

[1] On the 13th of October 1555. (Livre des Anglois, p. 6.)

were receiveth withe great favour and mutche curtesie, bothe of the Magistrates, ministers, and people. So soone as they entred their Churche, [the 1st of November 1555,] they chose Knox and Goodman for their pastor, and Gilby requested to supplie the roome till Knox returned oute of France.

EXTRACTS OF LETTERS RELATING TO KNOX AND THE ENGLISH CONGREGATION AT FRANKFURD.

I.

JOAN. CALVINUS ANGLIS FRANCFORD. S. D.[1]

HOC vero me graviter excruciat, et valde absurdum est, inter Fratres ob eandem fidem à patria exules ac profugos dissidium oriri: et quidem hac de causa, quæ vel sola debuerat in hac vestra dispersione, quasi sacrum vinculum, vos simul devinctos tenere. Quid enim vobis in hac tristi et misera clade potius agendum erat, quam ut à patriæ visceribus avulsi, Ecclesiam vobis adoptaretis, quæ animis et linguis conjunctos, materno gremio exciperet ac foveret? Nunc vero de precandi forma, et ceremoniis quasi in otio et deliciis litem à quibusdam moveri, idque obstare quominus in unum Ecclesiæ corpus istic coalescatis, nimis, meo judicio, intempestivum est. Neque tamen eorum constantiam reprehendo, qui ut pro justa causa depug-

[1] A translation of this letter, which it appears was specially addressed to Knox and Whittingham, is already given in the Extracts from the "Brief Discourse," &c., at page 27. The original is now added from the edition of Calvin's Works, (Epistolæ et Responsa, p. 98,) Amsterdam, 1667, folio, as a recent biographer of Calvin says of the translation, "Some of the expressions are twisted to a meaning more favourable to the Frankfurt Congregation than the original warrants." —(Dyer's Life of Calvin, p. 427.)

nent, inviti in contentionem trahuntur: sed pertinaciam, quæ sanctum formandæ Ecclesiæ studium moratur et impedit, merito damno. Equidem ut in rebus mediis, ut sunt externi ritus, facilem me ac flexibilem præbeo: ita non semper utile esse judico, stultæ eorum morositati, qui nihil de consuetudine sua remittunt, obsequi. In Anglicana Liturgia, qualem describitis, multas video fuisse tolerabiles ineptias. His duobus verbis exprimo, non fuisse eam puritatem, quæ optanda fuerat: quæ tamen primo statim die corrigi non poterant vitia, quum nulla subesset manifesta impietas, ferenda ad tempus fuisse. Sic ergo à talibus rudimentis incipere licuit, ut doctos tamen probosque et graves Christi ministros ultra eniti, et aliquid limatius ac purius quærere, consentaneum foret. Si hactenus in Anglia viguisset sincera religio, aliquid in melius correctum, multaque detracta esse oportuit. Nunc quum eversis illis principiis, alibi instituenda vobis sit Ecclesia, et liberum sit formam, quæ ad usum et ædificationem Ecclesiæ maxime apta videbitur, de integro componere: quid sibi velint nescio, quos fæcis Papisticæ reliquiæ tantopere delectant. Amant ea quibus assueti sunt. Hoc primo et nugatorium, et puerile est: deinde multum interest hæc nova institutio à mutatione. Ego vero, si quorundam infirmitas ad summum gradum non conscendat, ut vos ultra modum rigidos esse nolim: ita rursus alios monitos esse cupio, ne sibi in sua inscitia nimis placeant: deinde ne sua pervicacia sancti ædificii cursum retardent. Tertio, ne stulta eos æmulatio abripiat. Nam quæ illis rixandi causa, nisi quia pudet melioribus cedere? Sed ego frustra ad eos sermonem converto, qui forte non tantum mihi tribuunt, ut consilium à tali auctore profectum admittere dignentur. Si metuunt sinistrum in Anglia rumorem, quasi ab ea quæ illis exilii causa fuit, religione desciverint, longe falluntur. Potius enim fideles, qui illic residui sunt, hæc magis ingenua sinceraque professio expendere coget, in quam profundam abyssum ceciderint. Nam eos gravius suum præcipitium vulnerabit, ubi vos ultra medium cursum, unde retracti sunt, progredi viderint. Valete

integerrimi Fratres, et fideles Christi servi. Dominus vos tueri ac regere pergat. Genevæ, 15. Calendas Februarii[1] M.D.LV.

II.

THOMAS SAMPSON TO JOHN CALVIN.[2]

I DO not cease from doing here as I did at Lausanne, that is, I am expecting a reply from your kindness. And indeed I am more anxiously expecting it, in proportion as I perceive the flame is lighted up with increased vehemence amongst us English. For a strong controversy has arisen, while some desire the Book of Reformation of the Church of England to be set aside altogether, others only deem some things in it objectionable, such as kneeling at the Lord's Supper, the linen surplice, and other matters of this kind; but the rest of it, namely, the Prayers, Scripture lessons, and the form of the administration of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, they wish to be retained. Some contend for retaining the form, both because the Archbishop of Canterbury defends the doctrine as sound, and also, because the opposite party can assign no just reason why the form should be changed. They exclaim on the other hand, that the sole object of these persons is the establishment of ceremonies. You see, most excellent Calvin, how Satan is permitted, both at home and abroad, to rage against the English. May God have compassion upon us! and I entreat you, by Christ our common Saviour, to give your best consideration to these disturbances of ours, and shew me how we may best remedy this present evil. I well know how much weight the

[1] The 15th Calends of February was the 18th of January; in the translation, at page 30, the letter is dated the 20th of January.

[2] The original is printed in the "Epistolæ Tigurinæ," (Parker Society), p. 112. Calvin's reply, to which he makes an allusion in a subsequent letter (p. 58), is not preserved.

authority of your letters will have with both parties in the settlement of this dispute.

. . . . . .

Strasburgh, February 23, 1555.

Yours,

THOMAS SAMPSON.[1]

III.

WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM TO JOHN CALVIN.[2]

THE occasion that ought to bring us the greatest comfort from your most important letter,[3] has in a manner thrown us into the greatest anxiety and distress. For when there seemed likely to be no end to such noisy contentions, and on that account it was ordered by the Magistrate that we should comply with all the rites of the French Church, (unless there should happen to be any thing that might justly be found fault with); this circumstance so much offended some parties, that, leaving the contest about ceremonies, they betook themselves to forensic accusations. For Master Knox, being most unjustly charged before the Magistrate with high treason, has been ordered to quit the place, not without the regret of all good men, and even of the Magistrate himself. He is, therefore, on his way to you, and will explain the whole matter in order. This only I can speak from experience, that nothing ever occasioned greater distress and shame to good men than this wickedness has done. But I cannot now relate these things by reason of my grief, and he will himself explain them better and more

[1] Sampson was Rector of Allhallows, in Bread Street, London, and afterwards Dean of Chichester. He was designed by Queen Elizabeth to be Bishop of Norwich, but this he refused in consequence of his objections to the hierarchy and ceremonies of the English Church. In 1561, however, he was installed Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and survived till April 1589.—(Wood's Athenæ Oxon., by Bliss, vol. i. p. 549.)

[2] From the Zurich Letters, p. 764; the original is in the "Epistolæ Tigurinæ," p. 494.

[3] The letter to Knox and Whittingham, on the 18th of January 1555, see pages 27 and 51.

fully in person, as well as all other matters, of which I will describe the progress and result more at length after the fair. Farewell in Christ, and with your wonted affection aid us by your prayers and counsel. Frankfort, March 25, 1555.

WILL. WHITTINGHAM.[1]

IV.

RICHARD COXE AND OTHERS TO JOHN CALVIN.[2]

GREETING. After that our very dear brother Thomas Sampson had communicated to us sometime since the letter that you wrote to him touching our common controversy with certain brethren, we considered it a mark of our duty and regard to you to inform you, as early as possible, of all that has been done, and with what design. But though it may perhaps seem to you somewhat late to write to you, when the matter is altogether brought to a termination; yet we implore you by Jesus Christ, not to suppose that the delay has arisen from any desire unduly to undervalue your authority. For it both is, and ought to be, most highly esteemed and regarded, not only by ourselves, but by the world at large. But since your Reverence was many days' journey distant from us, and because there was great hope that all that controversy could be settled with less inconvenience between the brethren themselves, we were unwilling to disturb your most important meditations by our trifling and domestic concerns. But though we are very loth to suspect our brethren of any thing that savours of insincerity,

[1] "William Whittingham was concerned with Knox, Goodman, and others, in the translation of the Geneva Bible. He likewise translated some of the Psalms in Sternhold and Hopkin's version. He was ordained at Geneva, and on his return to England was made Dean of Durham, through the interest of the Earl of Leicester. He died in June 1579. For a further notice of him, see the references in the Index to Strype, and the Introduction to the Troubles of Frankfort, of which book he is supposed by Professor M'Crie to have been the author."—(Note by the Rev. Dr Hastings Robinson, Editor of the Original Letters, &c.)

[2] The original, in Latin, is printed in the "Epistolæ Tigurinæ," p. 487.

we are nevertheless somewhat afraid that the whole affair and case has not been set before you with sufficient explicitness. For neither are we so entirely wedded to our country, as not to be able to endure any customs differing from our own; nor is the authority of those fathers and martyrs of Christ so much regarded by us, as that we have any scruple in thinking or acting in opposition to it. And we have not only very frequently borne witness to this by our assertions, but have at length proved it by our actions. For when the Magistrates lately gave us permission to adopt the rites of our native country, we freely relinquished all those ceremonies which were regarded by our brethren as offensive and inconvenient. For we gave up private baptisms, confirmation of children, saints' days, kneeling at the holy communion, the linen surplices of the ministers, crosses, and other things of the like character. And we gave them up, not as being impure and papistical, which certain of our brethren often charged them with being; but whereas they were in their own nature indifferent, and either ordained or allowed by godly fathers for the edification of our people, we notwithstanding chose rather to lay them aside than to offend the minds, or alienate the affections of the brethren. We retain, however, the remainder of the form of Prayer and of the administration of the Sacraments, which is prescribed in our Book, and this with the consent of almost the whole church, the judgment of which in matters of this sort we did not think should be disregarded. With the consent likewise of the same church, there was forthwith appointed one pastor, two preachers, four elders, two deacons; the greatest care being taken that every one should be at perfect liberty to vote as he pleased; except only that by the command of the Magistrate, before the election took place, were set forth those articles lately published by the authority of King Edward, which contained a summary of our doctrine, and which we were all of us required to subscribe. For what kind of an election, they said, must be expected, unless the voters shall previously have agreed as to

doctrine? Certain parties, who had before manifested some objection, subscribed to these articles of their own accord. Some few declined doing so, of whose peaceableness, nevertheless, we entertain good hope.

We have thought fit to write thus fully to your kindness, that you might ascertain the whole course of our proceedings from ourselves. Our Liturgy is translated into French,[1] and the Articles above mentioned have very lately been printed at Zurich. Did we not suppose that they would easily be met with among you, we should take care that copies should be forwarded you. But we pray your kindness not to imagine that we have aimed at any thing else throughout this whole business, and this we testify before the Lord, than the purification of our church, and the avoiding of most grievous stumbling-blocks which otherwise seemed to be hanging over us. May the Lord Jesus very long preserve your piety to us and to his church! Farewell. Frankfort, April 5, [1555.]

Your piety's most devoted

English exiles,

RICHARD COX.	EDMUND GRINDAL.
DAVID WHITEHEAD.	JOHN BALE.
RICHARD ALVEY.[2]	ROB. HORN.
THOMAS BECON.[3]	THO. LEVER.
EDWIN SANDYS.[4]	THO. SAMPSON.

[1] "Le Livre des Prieres Communes, de l'Administration des Sacramens et autres Ceremonies en l'Eglise d'Angleterre. Traduit en Francoys par Francoys Philippe, serviteur de Monsieur le grand Chancellier d'Angleterre. De l'imprimerie de Thomas Gaultier, 1553." 8vo. (Herbert's Typogr. Antiq., vol. iii. p. 766.) Thomas Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, was then Lord Chancellor of England.

[2] Alvey was made Prebendary of Westminster in 1552. (Strype's Eccl. Memor., vol. ii. p. 274.)

[3] Becon was a prolific author, and his works have been collected and republished by the Parker Society. He had been Chaplain to Cranmer, and was afterwards Prebendary of Canterbury, and Rector of St Stephen's, Walbrook. Becon died, it appears, about the year 1567.

[4] Sandys or Sandes, late Master of Katherine Hall, Cambridge, was successively Bishop of Worcester and London, and afterwards Archbishop of York. He died in July 1588.

V.

JOHN CALVIN TO RICHARD COXE AND OTHER ENGLISHMEN AT FRANKFURT.[1]

PARADVENTURE I answere your letter (Worshipfull freinds and brethern,) more slowlie then either ye hoped or looked for; but for so muche as ye knowe the wayes for a tyme so to be beset withe theves, that no messenger allmoste coulde passe from hence to yow, the excuse of my long delay towardes yow shalbe the easier.

I expressed my minde frankly to oure beloved brother, Thomas Sampson, of that wherof I was enformed by the letters of certeine men, as touchinge the contention unluckelie stirred up amonge yow. For certene of my freindes founde them selves greved, that yow woulde so preciselie urge the Ceremonies of Englande; wherby it might appeere that ye are more geven and addicte to your countrie then reason woulde. I confesse that I harde certeine reasons alledged on your behalf, whiche woulde not suffer yow to departe from the receyved Order; but they might be soone and easilie confuted. Nowe, as I counsailed mine owne freindes whiche dissented from yow, somewhat to yelde, yf they might conveniently; so it offended me that there was nothinge graunted or relented on your partes. Because there was no man named unto me, I durste not entreprise to medle with the matter, leaste my credit shuld incurre the suspecte of rashnes. Nowe that ye are more mylder and tractable in this controversie, and that ye have (as ye saie) stilled the matter withe quietnes, I am verie glad.

Verely no man well instructed, or of a sounde judgement,

[1] The original letter (in Latin) is printed in the collection of Calvin's Epistles (p. 98); but, by a typographical mistake, it is given with the address, "Calvinus Cnoxo, et Gregalibus. S. D." At the time it was written Knox was residing at Geneva. The above translation is printed from the "Brief Discourse," &c., p. 51.

will deny (as I think) that Lights and Crossings, or suche like trifles, sprange or issued owte of Superstition; wherupon I am perswaded that they whiche reteine theis ceremonies in a free choise, or when they maie otherwise doo, they are over-greedy and desyrous to drink of the dregges. Nether do I se to what purpose it is to burthen the Churche with trifflinge and unprofitable Ceremonies; or as I maie terme them with their propre name, hurtefull and offensible ceremonies, when as there is libertie to have a symple and pure Order. But I keepe in and refraine my self, leaste I shulde seeme to beginne to move a newe contention of that matter, whiche, as yow reporte, is well ended.

All good men will allowe the Pastours and other Ministers elections with common voices, so that none complaine that the other parte of the churche was oppressed fraudulently and with craftye practises. For it standethe your Wisedomes in hande to consider, that howe muche commoditie the goodnesse of the Senate dothe deserve, so muche envie shall yow be giltie of, or charged withall, yf yow have abused their lenitie or gentlenesse, whiche were so well affected towardes your Nation. Yet I woulde not have this so taken, that I go abowte to be prejudiciall to anie man, but I had rather shewe plainely what maie be saide, then to norishe an ill opinion by silence, or in holdinge my peace. But certenly, this one thinge I cannot keepe secret, that Maister Knox was, in my judgement, nether godly nor brotherly dealt withall; if he were accused by the subtill suggestion of certeine, it had byn better for them to have taried still in their owne lande, then unjustly to have brought into farr countries the fierbrande of crueltie, to set on fier those that woulde not be kindled.

Notwithstandinge, because it greveth me to speak sleightly of theis evells, the remembrance wherof I woulde wishe to be buryed in perpetuall forgetfullnes; therfore I onely counsaile yow (not withowt a cause) to be wounded, that ye applie your selves to make them amendes for the faulte committed.

When I harde that the one parte was minded to departe from thens,[1] I earnestly admonished them (as it became me) that if they coulde not well remaine there, that the distance of place shulde not dissipate, or rent in sunder their brotherly agrement; for I feared muche least that some privie grudge of the former contention remained. And certainely, nothinge coulde more comforte my harte, than to be delyvered from this feare. For if anie haplie come to us, it woulde grieve me that there shulde be (as it were) but a suspition of any secret debate betwene yow.

Therfore as touchinge that ye have written of your Agrement, I desier that it maie be firme and stable; that if it chaunce the one parte to go to an other place, yet, that yow beinge so sundred by distance of places, maie keepe sure the holie bande of amitie: for the fault alreadie committed is too muche, although thorowgh discorde it creepe no further. Wherfore it shall well beseeme your Wisedomes (that ye maie be freinds) to purge diligentlie what so ever remainethe of this breache. Fare ye well, Brethern; the Lorde succour yow with his aide, and governe yow with his Spirite; powre his blessinges upon yow, and mittigate the sorowe of your exile. From Geneva, this last of Maie.[2] Anno 1555.

Your, JOHN CALVIN.

To the Worshippfull my lovinge Brethern
in the Lorde, Maister Richard Coxe,
and the rest of the Englishemen whiche
nowe remaine at Frankford.

[1] They begin pretely.—(*Marg. note.*)

[2] The Latin is dated "Pridie Idus, Junii, 1555," which would make it the 12th of June. It probably should have been printed "Prid. Cal. Junii," or the 31st of May; as in the above translation.

VI.

Bishop Ridley to Bishop Grindal.[1]

Alas! that our brother Knox could not bear with our Book of Common Prayer; matters against which although, I graunt, a man (as he is) of wit and learning may find to make apparaunt reasons;[2] but I suppose he cannot be able soundly to disprove by God's Word. The reason he maketh against the Letany, and the fault *Per Sanguinem et Sudorem*,[3] he findeth in the same, I do marvail how he can or dare avouch them before the English men that be with you. As for private Baptism, it is not prescribed in the Book; but where solemn Baptism, for lack of time and danger of death, cannot be had, what would he in that case should be done? Peradventure, he will say, It is better then to let them dye without Baptism. For this his 'better,' what word hath he in the Scripture? And if he have none, why will he not rather follow that that the sentences of the old ancient writers do more allow? from whom, to dissent without warrant of God's Word, I cannot think it any godly wisdom. As for Purification of Women, I ween the word 'purification' is changed, and it is called Thanksgiving; [but the Book is taken from us, and now I do not perfectly remember the thing; but this I am sure of, the matter there said all

[1] An extract of this letter was printed by Dr Covel, in his "Brief Answer to J. Burge's Reasons," &c. 1606, p. 69; and again, by Strype, in his "Life of Archbishop Grindal," p. 19, from which it is here printed, with the passages inclosed in the brackets, from the Parker Society edition of Bishop Ridley's Works, p. 533. Strype introduces the letter with these words: "And holy Bishop Ridley, hearing of the Controversies stirred there at Frankford about the Common-Prayer-Book used in the Church of England under King Edward, writes thus to the same Grindal a little before his martyrdom." The date of Ridley's martyrdom was the 16th of October 1555.

[2] Covel and Strype explain this "meaning, plausible reasons."

[3] This is corrected to "*Per sanguineum sudorem*," by the editor of the Parker Society volume. Strype has, "By the Cross and bloody Sweat."

tendeth to give God thanks, and to none other end.] Surely Mr Knox is, in my mind, a man of much good learning, and of an earnest zeal: The Lord graunt him to use them only to his glory.

[Where ye say, ye were by the Magistrates required gently to omit such things in your Book as might offend their people, not as things unlawful, but to their people offensive, and so ye have done, as to the having of surplice and kneeling; truly in that, I cannot judge, but that both ye and the Magistrates have done right well; for I suppose in things indifferent, and not commanded or forbidden by God's Word, and wherein the customs of divers countries be diverse, the man of God, that hath knowledge, will [not] stick to forbear the custom of his own country, being those where the people therewith will be offended; and surely if I might have done so much with our Magistrates, I would have required Mr Alasco[1] to have done no less when he was with us.]

VII.

The Minister and other Members of the English Congregation at Frankfurt to John Calvin.[2]

. . . . . .

But leaving these things, let us return to the business of Knox, wherein you greatly desire godliness and brotherly love on the part of those who were implicated in it. We will, therefore, briefly and truly explain to you the history of the

[1] Alasco, more properly John à Lasco, an eminent Polish Reformer, who was placed at the head of the Foreign Reformed Congregations in London during the reign of Edward the Sixth.

[2] From the valuable collection of "Original Letters, relative to the English Reformation, chiefly from the Archives of Zurich, translated and edited for the Parker Society, by the Rev. Hastings Robinson, D.D." Cambridge, 1847. 8vo. The original, in Latin, is printed in the "Epistolæ Tigurinæ," p. 489.

whole affair. There were, at that time, certain parties in our Church, who, instructed by long practice and experience, were able easily to foresee and conceive beforehand in their minds the evils that were either already impending over our Church, or might happen to it in future. These persons understood that Knox had published a certain book,[1] which they perceived would supply their enemies with just ground for overturning the whole Church. For there were interspersed in this publication atrocious and horrible calumnies against the Queen of England, whom Knox called at one time the wicked Mary, at another time a monster. And he exasperated King Philip also by language not much less violent. When these men had read this infamous libel, attached as they are to true religion and to our Church, they considered it neither profitable nor safe to ourselves that Knox should be received with favour by our church. One of them, therefore, called upon the intimate friends of Knox, and pointed out to him that it would be most advisable for Knox to leave the Church, and depart to some other place; and this he earnestly recommended him to do. Not succeeding in this, our friends, having more closely considered the danger which without doubt was hanging over them, thought it right to proceed in a different way. The matter was at last brought before the Magistrates, with no other view than that Knox might be ordered to quit the place. When the Magistrate was made acquainted with the case, and had also discovered that the Emperor was defamed in that pamphlet; considering that a man of this kind might easily occasion danger, not only to our Church, but also to his State, he ordered him to leave the city.

[1] "This book was entitled, 'An Admonition to Christians.' The substance of it was first preached in Buckinghamshire. Nine places therein were laid to the charge of Knox, in one of which he called the Emperor 'no less an enemy to Christ than was Nero.' See M'Crie's Life of Knox. Fuller, Ch. Hist. ii. 412. Soames, iv. 564. Troubles of Frankfort, 44. The whole account is given in Strype, Mem. iii. 1.406."—(Note by the Rev. Dr Hastings Robinson, Editor of the Original Letters, &c.) The Admonition itself is republished in the previous volume of Knox's Works.

Thus you have the whole affair as it really took place; nor would we for the sake of our friends evade the subject, by holding back any thing, or obscure it by our relation of it. Something was conceded to Knox. For our party had observed some other things in him, which we have now purposely forborne to mention, but which induced them to desire his departure. But these clearly were the reasons which drove our friends to this step, and it was altogether in this way that they got rid of that affair. But what an occasion for disseminating falsehoods these authors of confusion thence laid hold of, what dreadful language they uttered, what disturbance they excited, must be matter of wonder to every one who is unacquainted with their character: especially when they even prevailed upon you to write concerning men who were in every respect innocent, that "it had been better for them to have remained in their own country, than to have brought over to a distant land the firebrand of unjust severity."[1] If those who occasioned Knox's departure from hence had been in any way known to you, you would assuredly have dealt more gently with them. For scarce any man living is more remote from cruelty than, by the grace of God, those persons both are and have been.[2] Certainly, when an account of what they had done was demanded of them by our pastor, they gave such a straightforward statement, that, scrupulous as he is in every thing else, he had nothing whatever to find fault with. For you cannot but be aware, how unbecoming it would have been in us impotently to rage in half-muttered abuse against Magistrates; not, perhaps, because they do not deserve it, but because of the office imposed upon them by God. This we can assure you, that that outrageous pamphlet of Knox's added much oil to the

[1] Calvin's letter adds, "quæ nolentes quoque inflammet," to set on fire those that would not be kindled. —(Editor of the Parker volume.)

[2] "This one thing I cannot keep secret, that Master Knox was, in my judgment, neither godly nor brotherly dealt withal."—(Calvin: Troubles of Frankfort.) See *supra*, p. 59.

flame of persecution in England.[1] For before the publication of that book, not one of our brethren had suffered death; but as soon as it came forth, we doubt not but that you are well aware of the number of excellent men who have perished in the flames; to say nothing of how many other godly men besides have been exposed to the risk of all their property, and even life itself, upon the sole ground of either having had this book in their possession, or having read it; who were perhaps rescued from the sword at greater cost and danger of life than the others offered their necks to it. But enough of these things.

You piously exhort us that, if we perceive that the minds of some parties are wounded not without cause, we should endeavour to make amends for the injury. But when you have left no stone unturned to heal those persons who have inflicted their wounds upon themselves, and have nevertheless lost all your pains, what can you possibly do for them? You say that you have "diligently admonished those who are minded to leave us, that their departure should not rend asunder the agreement of the brethren." We wish that your Wisdom had foreseen this, and that the authority of your letter had not given encouragement to the former quarrel, before you had heard the other side of the question. We wish that your sagacity had anticipated what was the tendency of their designs, namely, to open faction, to say nothing more. For they themselves now presume to write that they are ready to maintain the lawfulness of their secession from our church. We certainly hoped, indeed, when we wrote to you, that our reconciliation would have been lasting; and your friend Whittingham, with all the rest of his party, except three or four, had given in his adhesion to our church. But oh! like true Proteuses, they now make subterfuges, and shamefully desert us, under I know not what pretence. We know not whence this change of sentiment has arisen; but we leave you to judge what opinion must

[1] See vol. iii. p. 256.

be entertained of those persons who tell you that they leave the church solely on account of ceremonies, which even they themselves dare no longer affirm to be ungodly, or can prove to be at variance with the Word of God, or in any way unprofitable. We pray God to bestow upon them a better mind; and we earnestly entreat you no longer to mix yourself up in so hateful a business, lest some disparagement should arise to your reputation, which we desire should at all times be most honourable and holy. May the Lord Jesus preserve you as an especial ornament to his church!

Frankfort, September 20,[1] 1555.

Your admirers,

DAVID WHITEHEAD, Pastor. RICHARD ALVEY.
RICHARD COX. HENRY PARRY.
THOMAS BECON, Minister of the Word of God. BARTH. TRAHERON.[2]
THOMAS COTTISFORD.[3]

VIII.

CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN TO DR PETER MARTYR.[4]

. . . . . .

For which reason, as I deny not that I had much to regret in that Frankfort controversy; so indeed, though it occasioned

[1] In the Latin letter, the 23d of September.—(*Epist. Tigur.* p. 493.)

[2] Bartholomew Traheron, or Trahern, was educated at Oxford, and after travelling for some years in Germany and Italy he took holy orders, and was preferred to the Deanery of Chichester. He became "Divinity Reader" to the English exiles at Frankfurt. See Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (by Bliss, vol. i. p. 324) for a list of his works.

[3] Thomas Cottisford, or Cotsforde, was the translator of the "Confession of the Faith of Huldrik Zuinglius, sent to the Counsell at Augsburg," in 1530, and printed at Geneva in the year 1555, 8vo. In his edition of Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. i. p. 231, Dr Bliss has given an account of his life and writings. According to Bale, he died at Frankfurt in 1555.

[4] From the Rev. Dr Robinson's volume of Zürich Letters, p. 769; the original, in Latin, is contained in the Parker Society volume, "Epistolæ Tigurinæ," p. 497.

me great uneasiness in common with the rest, I do not now repent of having stood forth and laboured with others in that cause, which has been the chief occasion of that happy agreement and solid peace which, by the great blessing of God, we enjoy in this place; which I persuade myself never would have occurred, if for the sake of the other party it had been permitted to contaminate the purity of religion with the dregs of Popery which they wished to force upon us. For by such conduct we should deservedly have been called traitors to the truth, and that too against our own convictions; and those who have so pertinaciously endeavoured to load the free consciences of the brethren with unprofitable ceremonies and paltry ordinances of man, would not so readily have been brought to an acknowledgment of their offence. If Paul and Barnabas had given place to the brethren who came from Jerusalem to Antioch, and had not withstood the doctrine of those persons with all their might, what a pestilence would have spread throughout all the churches! And if Peter, James, and the rest, had refused to deliver their opinion to Paul and Barnabas when they asked for it, how would they themselves have been otherwise than cruel to the brethren, and faithless before God? They thought fit therefore so to condescend to the infirmity of their brethren, as yet meanwhile not to withhold their sentiments on the side of truth. And as to the contention which then seemed evil and calamitous, it was shortly afterwards evident how necessary it was to those churches, and useful to us who come after them. Since therefore they are set before us as an example in those things which relate to God, we may safely imitate them; not only that we may boldly contend for the truth, whether it be against open enemies, or against those who wish to be called brethren; but also that we may not refuse our support, whenever it is demanded with simplicity, and for the sake of arriving at the truth. And though in this case it may be difficult to avoid the imputation of being contentious, yet when our conscience bears witness to us that we are averse

from strife, and that we do not regard the opinions of men, but the cause of the contention itself, we must faithfully discharge our duty, and leave the event to Almighty God, who will defend his own cause.

. . . . . .

Geneva, August 20, 1558.

Your disciple,

CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN.[1]

[1] "Christopher Goodman, son of William, an Englishman, of Chester, had been gratuitously admitted a citizen at his own request.—(*Extract from the Council-Book of Geneva, dated June* 1, 1558.) He was concerned in the Geneva translation of the Bible. See many references to him in the Index to Strype. He left Frankfort about September 1555 for Geneva, and was chosen with Knox as pastor of the church in that place."—(*Note by the Rev. Dr Hastings Robinson, translator and editor of the Parker Society volume of Original Letters, &c.*)

A LETTER

TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER,

REGENT OF SCOTLAND.

MAY M.D.LVI.

We have seen that Knox took leave of his brethren at Frankfurt on the 26th of March 1555. He returned to Geneva, where there were several English residents, and among whom he probably resumed, for a short period, his ministerial labours; but his affections being drawn to his native country, he proceeded to Dieppe in August, and sailed from that port with a vessel which landed him on the east coast, near the boundaries of the two kingdoms.

The precise time of his marriage with Marjory Bowes is somewhat uncertain. A solemn engagement had taken place in the year 1553; but her youth, the opposition of her father, Richard Bowes of Aske, to the alliance, and the troubles which drove Knox from England, had evidently the effect of deferring it to a more propitious season; and it is not improbable that his desire to complete his long-contemplated engagement, had no small influence in inducing him to revisit his native country. On his landing, he immediately repaired to Berwick, where he found his affianced wife and her mother enjoying the happiness of religious society. He afterwards visited Scotland, and in a letter addressed to Mrs Bowes on the 4th of November, he expresses his astonishment and delight at the fervent zeal for religion which prevailed, and which, "if he had not seen with his eyes in his own country, he could not have believed." This letter will be introduced into a subsequent portion of the present volume.

During the eight or nine months which Knox spent now in Scotland, the influence which he exerted in promoting the cause of the Reformation can scarcely be over-estimated. In

the month of May 1556, at the solicitation of the Earls Marischal and Glencairne, he addressed the following Letter to the Queen Regent, in the hope that she might be persuaded to extend protection to the reformed preachers, or, as it might happen, to listen favourably to their doctrine. The supercilious manner in which the Queen termed this letter "a Pasquil," is mentioned by Knox himself in his History,[1] as well as in the additions to the Letter itself, when republished in 1558.

The text of the Letter is here given from the old printed edition. In Dr M'Crie's MS. it is inserted, with this marginal note: "This is his first Letter to her in the yeir 1556: the other is inlargeit and written in the year 1558." It has however evidently been copied from the printed edition of 1558, and it would be unnecessary to point out all the various readings, as the latter copy will be included in the present volume under its proper date.

[1] Vol. i. p. 252.

The copie of a letter, sent to the ladye Mary Dowagire, Regent of Scotland, by John Knox in the yeare. 1556.

There is also a notable sermon, made by the sayde John Knox. wherin is euydentlye proued that the masse is and alwayes hath ben abhominable before God and Idolatrye.

Scrutamini Scripturas.

The original is a little volume in black-letter, sign. A to H, in eights, measuring 3½ inches by 2¼. It is printed with the same types as the early edition of "The Spiritual and Precious Pearle," translated by Edward Duke of Somerset; the tracts by "Gracious Menewe," and Knox's "Exposition on the Sixth Psalm." It was no doubt printed towards the close of 1556, the year in which the Letter was written, soon after Knox had returned from Scotland. The "Notable Sermon," mentioned on the title as forming part of the volume, is already reprinted as "A Vindication of the Doctrine that the Mass is Idolatry," (Vol. iii. p. 33–70.)

TO THE EXCELLENT LADY MARY DOUAGIRE, REGENT OF SCOTLAND, HIR HUMBLE SUBJECT, JOHN KNOX, WISHETH GRACE, MERCY, AND PEACE FROM GOD THE FATHER OF OURR LORD JESUS CHRIST, WITH THE SPIRITE OF PERFECT JUDGEMENT.

THE eternall providence of the ever-lyvynge God hath appointed his chosen children to fight in this wretched and transitory lyfe, a battel difficil, and the maner of their preservation in the same battel to be more mervellous. Their victory standeth not in resisting, but in suffering. And how they can be preserved, and not brought to uttermoste confusion, the eye of man perceyveth not. [Our soverane Master pronounceth to his Discipillis, that in thair pacience suld thai possess their saullis. And the same foirsaw the Prophet Ysay, when that he paynteth furth all uther battell to be with violence, tumulte, and blud-scheding; but the victorie of Godis pepill to be in quyetnes, sylence, and hoip; meanyng, that all utheiris that obtene victorie, do inforce theme selves to resist thair adversaries, to sched blude, and to murther. But so do not the elect of God, but all thingis thai sustene at the commandement of Him who hath apoyntit thame to suffer, being most assuredlie persuadit, that then onlie thai triumphe, when all men judge thame oppressit; for in the cross of Chryst alwayis is includit a secreit and hid victorie, never weill knawin till the sufferer appeir altogether to be (as it wer) exterminat. For then onlie did the blude of Abell cry to God, when proud Cayn judgeit all memorie of his brother to haif bene extinguischit: And sa I say, thair victorie is mervalous; and how that thai can be

GENE. 2. MATH. 10. ACTES 14. MATH. 15. JERE. 14, 16. ESAI 49, 41, 51. EXOD. 1.

IN THE CROSS OF CHRYST IS VICTORIE HID.

preservit and not brocht to utter confusion, the eye of man perceaveth not.][1] But [He] whose power is infinite, by secrete and hidden motions, toucheth the hartes of such as, to man's judgement, have power to destroye them, of very pitie and compassion to save his people. As he dyd the hartes of the Egyptian mydwyves to preserve the men children of the Israelites, when precept was geven by Pharao of their destruction: the harte of Pharao's doghter to pitie Moyses, in his young infancy exposed to the danger of waters: the harte of Nabuchodonasar to preserve the captyves alyve, and liberally to norishe the children that were founde apte to lettres: And fynally, the harte of Cyrus to sett at libertye the people of God, after long bondage and thraldom. And thus doth the invisible power and love of God, manifest itselfe towardes his elect frome tyme to tyme, for two causes: First, to comforte his weake warryors in their manifolde temptations, letting theym to understande that he is able to compell suche, as some tyme were enemies to his people, to fight in their cause; and also (as by his Prophet Esaie he doth promyse) to promote their delyveraunce. And Secundarily, to gyve a testimony of his favour to them, that by all apperance did lyve before (as Saint Paule speaketh), "wanting God in the world, strangers from the commonwealth of Israel, and wythout the league of his mercyfull promes and free grace made to his church." For who could have affirmed that one of these persones afore named, or yet Rahab, had bene so loving, faithful, and gentle, before that occasion was offered unto theym to manifeste theyr nature and clemency? But the workes of mercye shewed to the afflicted, have left to us assurances that God used theym as vessels of his honor. For pitie and mercy shewedde to his afflicted flocke, as they never lacked reward temporal, so if they be contynewed, and be not changed into crueltye, are assured signes and sealles of everlasting mercy to be receyved from God, who, by hys Holy Spirite, moveth their

4 REG. 8. JERE. 46. DANIEL 1.

ESAI. 1.

EPHE. 2.

JOSUA. 10.

[1] This passage and some other words inclosed within brackets, are not contained in the original edition, and are supplied from MS. M.

harts to shewe mercye to the people of God oppressed and afflicted.

Your Grace perchance doeth wonder to what purpose these thinges be recyted: and I in very dede can not wonder ynough, that occasion is offered to me (a worme most wretched) to recyte the same at this present. For I have looked rather for the sentence of deathe, then to have written to your Grace in these last and manifest wicked[1] dayes, in which Sathan so blyndeth the hartes of many, [that innocentis ar dampnit, thair cause never tryit.]

I doubt not but the rumors whiche came to youre Grace's eares of me have bene suche, that if all reportes were trew, I were unworthy to lyve on the earth. And wonder it is, that the voyces of the multitude shoulde not so have enflammed your Grace's harte with just hatered of such a one as I am accused to be, that all accesse to pitie should have bene shut up. I am traduced as an heretyke, accused as a fals teacher and seducer of the people, besides other opprobries, which, affirmed by men of worldly honor and estymation, may easely kyndle the wrath of Magistrates when innocency is not knowen. But blessed be God, the Father of oure Lorde Jesus Christe, who, by the dewe of hys heavenly grace, hath so quenched the fyre of displeasure in youre Grace's harte (whiche of late dayes I have understood) that Sathan is frustrate of his enterpryse and purpose, which is to my harte no small comforte; not so muche (God is witnes) for any benefit that I can receave in this miserable lyfe by protection of any earthly creature, (for the cuppe which it behoveth me to drynke is appointed by the wysdome of Him whose counsailes are not changeable,) as that I am for that benefit, which, I am assured, your Grace shall receyve, if that ye continewe in lyke moderation and clemency towardes others that most unjustly are and shalbe accused, as that your Grace hath begonne towardes me and my moste desperate matter.[2] That is, if by godly wysdome ye shall study to

[1] In MS. M. "most wicked." [2] In MS. M. "most disperat cause."

brydle the fury and rage of theym, who, for maintenance of their worldly pompe, regarde nothing the cruel murdering of symple innocents; then shall He, who pronounceth mercy to apperteyn to the mercifull, and promiseth that a cuppe of colde water geven for hys name's sake shall not lacke rewarde, fyrst cause your happy government to be praysed in this present age, and in posterities to come; and laste, recompens your godly paynes and study with that joy and glory whiche the eye hath not sene, nor yet can enter into the harte of mortall creature.

MATH. 5. MATH. 10.

Superfluous and foolishe it shall appeare to many that I, a man of base estate and condition, dare enterprise to admonishe a Princess so honorable, endewed with wisdome and graces singulerly. But when I consider the honor that God commandeth to be geven to Magistrates, which, no doubte, if it be trew honor, conteyneth in itself, in lawfull thinges obedience, and in all thinges love and reverence; when, further, I consider the troublesome estate of Christ Jesus trew religion, this daye oppressed by blindnes of men; and last, the multitude of flatterers, and the rare number of them that boldelye and playnelye dare speake the naked veritie in presence of thair Princes, and principally in the cause of Christe Jesus: These thinges, I say, considered, whatsoever any man shall judge of my enterprise, I am compelled to say [that],

EXO. 20. ROM. 13. 1 PET. 2.

THE STATE.

Oneles[1] in your regiment[2] and using of power, your Grace be founde different from the multitude of Princes and head rulers, that this pre-eminence wherein ye ar placed shal be your dejection to torment and payn everlasting. This proposition is sore; but, alas! it is so trew, that if I shulde concele and hyde it from your Grace, I committed no lesse treason against your Grace, then I did if I saw you by imprudency take a cuppe which I knew to be poysoned or envenomed, and yet wolde not admonishe you to absteyn from drincking of the same.

ACTS. 14, 17.

[1] Oneles, unless. [2] Regiment, government.

The religion whiche this day men defende by fyre and swearde is a cuppe envenomed, of which whosoever drinckcth, (except, by trew repentance, he after drincke of the water of lyfe,) drincketh therewith damnation and death. How, and by whome it hath bene envenomed, if it were no more tediouse to youre Grace to reade and heare, then it is paynfull to me to write or reherse, I wold not spare the labor. But for this present, I have thought it some discharge of a parte of my duty, if I of very love admonish your Grace of that danger: which I do, (as God one daye shall declare,) preferring your Grace's salvation, and the salvation of the people now committed to youre care,[1] before any corporal benefyt that can redounde to my self.

Ye thinke, peradventure, that the care of religion is not committed to Magistrates, but to the Bishoppes and Estate Ecclesiastical, as they terme it: No, no, the negligence of Bishoppes shall no lesse be requyred of the handes of Magistrates (because they foster and maintein them in tyranny) then shall the oppression of fals judges, whiche kynges mainteyn and defend.[2] I doubte not but that your Grace doeth wonder, howe that the religion that is universally receyved can be so damnable and so corrupted. But if youre Grace shall consider, that ever from the beginning, the multitude hath declined from God; yea, even in the people, to whome he spake by his lawe and prophets; if ye shall consider the complaynte of the Holy Ghoste, complaynnge that nations, people, princes, and kynges of the earth, have raged, made conspiracies, and helde counsailles against the Lord, PSALM. 2. ACTO. 4.

[1] In MS. M. "your charge."

[2] In MS. M. this sentence reads: "But disceave not your self; for the negligence of bishopis sall no less be requyrit of the handes of magistrates than sall the oppression of fals judges; for thai unjustlie promote, foster, and manteane the one and the other. The false and corrupt judge to spoyle the guidis and to oppress the bodies of the sympill; but the proude prelatis do kingis mantene to murther the soullis, for the whilk the blude of Christ Jesus was sched. And that thai do, either by withholding from thame the trew word of lyfe, or ellis by causing teache thame a pestilent doctrine, sic as now is taught in the papisticall kirkis. I know, that ye wonder how that the religion," &c.

and against his anointed Christe Jesus; further, if ye shall consider the question whiche Christe Jesus hymself doeth move in
LUC. 18. these wordes, "When the Sonne of man shall come, shall he fynde fayth in the earth?" and, last, if your Grace shall consider the manifest contempt of God, and of all his holy preceptes, whiche this day raygneth[1] without punishmement upon
OSE. 4. the face of the whole earth; for, as Oseas complayneth, "There is no veritie, there is no mercy, there is no knowledge of God in the earth, but lyes, perjury, murther, theft, and adultery overflow all, and bloud hath touched bloud;" that is, every iniquitie is joyned to an other. If, depely, I say, youre Grace shall consider and contemplate the universal corruption that thys day reygneth in al estates, then shal your Grace cease to
MATH. 20. MATH. 7. 2 THES. 2. wonder "that many are called and few are chosen." And ye shall begyn to tremble, [and feare] to folowe the multitude to perdition.

The universall defection, whereof Sainct Paul did prophesy, is easy to be espyed as well in religion as in manners. The corruption of lyfe is evident, and religion is not [judged nor] measured with the playne Worde of God, but by custome, consuetude, will, consent, and determinations of men. But shal He who hath pronounced all cogitations of man's hart to be vayn at all tyme, accept the counsaylles and consentes of men, for a religion pleasinge and acceptable before hym? Let not youre Grace be disceaved: God can not deny hym selfe: He hathe witnessed from the beyginnynge, that no
DEUT. 4, 12. religion pleaseth Hym, except that which He, by hys owne Worde, hath commanded and established. The Veritie it self pronounceth this sentence: "In vayne do they worshippe me,
MATH. 15. teaching doctrines, the preceptes of men;" and also, "All plantation that my Heavenlye Father hathe not planted shall be routed out." Before the cumming of his well-beloved Sonne in the fleshe, severallye[2] he punished al such as durst entreprise to alter or change his ceremonies or statutes, as in Saule, Uzias,

[1] In MS. M. "ringeth," reigneth. [2] In MS. M., and edit. 1558, "severelie."

Nadab, and Abihu, is to be redde. And wil He now, after that he hath opened his whole counsail to the world, by his onlye Sonne, whom he hath commanded to be hearde; and after that He, by hys Holy Spirit speaking in his Apostles, hath established the religion in whiche he willeth hys trewe worshippers to abyde to the end: will He now, I say, admitte man's inventions, in the matter of religion, whiche before he reputed for damnable idolatry? If man or aungels wolde affirme that He will or may do it, his own veritie shal convict them of a lye; for this sentence, which he once pronunced, shall abyde immutable to the ende: "Not that which appeareth good in thine eyes shall thou do to the Lorde thy God; but what the Lord thy God hath commanded thee, that do thou: adde nothinge to it, dyminishe nothinge from it." The which thinge (sealing up hys New Testament) he repeteth in these words: "I will lay none other burthen upon you, but that which ye have hold till I come." And, therefore, yet again it repenteth me not to say, that in this point, whiche is chief and principale, your Grace must dissent from the multitude of rulers, or els ye can possesse no portion with Christ Jesus in his kyngdome and glory.

EE. 13, 14. LEVI. 10. MATH. 7. AC. 1, 13, 14. 1 COR. 11.

APOCAL. 2.

An orator, and Goddes messinger also, justlye mighte requyre of you, (nowe by Goddes hande promoted to hye dignitie,) a motherly pitie uppon your subjects, a justice inflexible to be used against murtherers and common oppressours, a hart voyde of avarice and partialitie, a mynd studiouse and carefull for maintenance of that realme and common wealth above whiche God hath placed you, and by it hath made you honorable; with the rest of the virtues whiche not onely Goddes Scriptures, but also wryters illuminated onely with the light of nature, requyreth in godlye rulers. But vayn it is to crave reformation in manners, where the religion is corruptit. For like as a man can not do the office of a man, except first he have a being or a life, so to worke workes pleasant in the sight of God the Father, can no man do without the spirite of the Lorde Jesus, which doth not abyde in the hartes of idolaters.

NOTA.

3 RE. 15.
2 PA. 17.
4 RE. 22.
2 PA. 29, 30, 31.

And, therefore, the moste godly princes Josias, Ezechias, and Josaphat, seeking Goddes favor to rest upon them and upon their people, before all thinges began to reforme the religion. For it is as the stomake within the body, whiche, if it be corrupted, of necessitie it infecteth the whole masse. And, therefore (oft I repete that which is most necessary), if your Grace pretend to raigne[1] with Christ Jesus, then it behoveth you to take care over his true religion, the whiche this daye within your realme is so deformed, that no part of Christes ordinances remayn in thair first strength and original puritie; the which, I praise God, is lesse difficil to me to prove than dangerous to speake. And yet, neither the one nor the other I fear, partly because the love of life eternall quencheth the terrour of temporall death; and partely because I wolde, with Sainct Paule, wishe my self accurssed from Christe, as touching earthely pleasures, for the salvation of my brethren, and illumination of your Grace. Which thing, work, and very dede, and not bare word and wryting, shall witnes and declare, if I maye purchase the libertie of tounge but fortye dayes only.

NO PARTE OF RELIGION REMAINETH UNCORRUPT.

A PETICION.

I am not ignorant how dangerous a thing it appeareth to the natural man, to innovate any thing in matters of religion. And, partlie, I consider that your Grace's power is not so fre as a publik reformation perchance woulde requyre.

AN OBJECTION OF THE FLESHE.

But if your Grace shal consider the daunger, and damnation perpetuall, which inevytably hangeth upon all mainteyners of a fals religion, then shall the greatest daunger easely devoure and swallow up the smaller. If your Grace shall consider, that either ye must serve God to lyfe everlasting, or else serve the Worlde to death and damnation, then, albeit man and aungel shoulde disswade you, ye will chuse lyfe and refuse death. And if further, ye shall consider, that the very lyfe consisteth in the knowledge of the onelye trewe God, and of his Sonne Christ Jesus; and that trewe knowledge hath annexed with it Goddes worshippinge and honor, which requireth a testimony of his

AN ANSWER.

MATH. 6.
ROM. 6.
3 REG. 18.

JHON. 17.
JHON. 4.

[1] In M.S. M. "ring," reign.

own will, expressed by his Worde, that suche honor doeth please Him:

If youre Grace, I say, shall earnestly meditate these thinges aforesaid, then, albeit sodenlye ye may not do all thinges that ye wold, yet shall ye not cease to do what ye maye. Your Grace can not hastely abolishe all superstition, neither yet remove from offices unprofitable pastors, which onely fede themselfes, the which to publique reformation are requisite and necessary; but yet, if the zeal of Goddes glory be fervent in your Grace's hart, by wicked lawes ye will not mainteyn manifest idolatrye, neither yet will ye suffer the fury of Bisshoppes to murther and devoure the poore members of Christes body. But with all carefull diligence, ye will study how that the trewe worshippinge of God maye be promoted, and the tyranny of ungodly men repressed within the boundes of youre dominion, to the uttermost of your power.

And if the contrary hereof, either by ignorance or for pleasure of others, ye do permit to be done, then (except your speedy repentance) shall ye and your posteritie sodenly feill the depressing hande of Him who hath exalted you. Ye shalbe compelled (nil ye, wil ye,) to know that He is eternal against whome ye addresse your battel; and that he is alone that moderateth the tymes and disposeth kingdomes; that it is he that glorifieth them that glorifieth him, and that he by his own power poureth forth contempt upon all princes that rebell against his graces offered.[1] DANI. 2. JERR. 27. 1 REG. 2.

And, therefore, how dangerous soever it shall appear to the fleshe and natural man to obey God in promoting his religion, and to make warre against the Devill, in removing darknes, pryde, and superstition; yet if your Grace looke to have your self, or yet youre seede after you, to continue in a worldely honor, and after to possesse the lyfe everlasting, submit your self, by time, under the hande of Hym that is omnipotent, embrace his will, despise not hys testament, refuse not hys graces offerred.[2] COUNSAILL.

[1] In the orig. edit. "offere." [2] In the orig. edit. "offere."

Nowe, when he calleth you, withdrawe not your eare, be not led awaye with that vayn opinion, that youre churche[1] and prelates cannot erre, but laye the booke of God before your eyes, and lette it be a judge to their lyves, doctrine, and manners; as also to that doctryne whiche by fyre and sworde most cruelly they persecut.

I confesse that I desyre your Grace to enter into a straunge and grevous battel; nevertheles, yet assured I am by the promise of Him by whome kinges do raygne, that if, with reverence and feare, ye obey his preceptes, as did Josias the admonitions of the Prophetes, that then with double benediction shall your battell be rewarded; that is, wisdom, ryches, glory, honor, and longe lyfe shall accompany you in this your regiment temporal, and immortalitie, with joy inestimable, shalbe your portion when the King of all kinges, the Lord Jesus, shal appere to judgemente, before whome ye shall make accompt of this youre regyment, when the proude and disobedient shall cry, "Mountaines fall upon us, and hyde us from the face of the Lorde." But then it shalbe too late, because they despised the voyce of him that lovingly calleth.

2 PAR. 3, 4.

MATH. 24. OSE. 10. APOC. 9.

God the Father of our Lorde Jesus Christe, by the power of his Holy Spirite, so illuminate your senses and understanding, that the things, that rudely be here spoken, by your Grace so may be accepted, that they be not a testimony of youre juste damnation in that great daye of the Lorde Jesus, to whose mighty protection I unfaynedlie committe your Grace, nowe and ever. AMEN.

[1] In MS. M. "kirk."

AN EXPOSITION

UPON MATHEW IV.,

CONCERNING THE TEMPTATION OF CHRIST IN THE WILDERNESS.

M.D.LVI.

THE following Exposition of the Temptation of Christ in the Wilderness, which was first delivered as a Sermon, and afterwards committed to writing for the benefit of his private friends, may, without hesitation, be assigned to the earlier part of the year 1556. This appears from a letter written to Mrs Locke, from Geneva, on the 9th of December that year, where he says, "In this mean season you shall receive my judgment upon the first Temptation of Christ, *which I wrote being in Scotland* at the request of some, who before, being in great anguish, did confess themselves somewhat reclaimed . . . . by the doctrine of the same. *For first I taught it, before I did write it.* As I can have occasion, and some quietness, you may perchance receive the rest of the same matter, which is not yet all complete." This intention is also expressed at the end of the Exposition itself, where he says, "Sundrie impediments now do call me from further writing in this matter, but, by God's grace, at convenient leisure, I purpose to finish and to send unto you." But he seems never to have found either opportunity or quietness for completing the work.

It was first published at London by John Field in the year 1583, from a MS. copy belonging to Mrs Anne Prouze of Exeter. Her name neither appears as one of Knox's correspondents, nor as one of his flock at Geneva; and where Field speaks of a letter to her from the Author, in which he proposed to send the continuation of the following Exposition,[1] this, in all probability, was nothing more than a reference to the words in the concluding paragraph.[2] She was the widow of Edward Deering, an eminent Puritan divine.[3] Field, who

[1] See page 92. [2] Infra, page 114. [3] See note 2 page 92.

was educated at Oxford, was also "a famous preacher," and a sufferer for his nonconformity. He was Rector of Aldermary, and of St Giles's, Cripplegate, London; and was suspended from his ministry, in March 1584, for "holding an unlawful conventicle, consisting of an assembly of ministers at his house, among whom were some Scottish divines who were disaffected to the hierarchy."[1] He died in the year 1587–8.[2]

In Dr M'Crie's MS. volume, from which this Exposition is here printed, it is entitled, "His [Knox's] Doctrine upon the first Tentatioun. Mathew cap. 4. 1 verse." Except in the orthography, the two copies correspond very closely.

[1] Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i. pp. 273–275, 309. Toulmin's edit. Bath, 1797, 5 vols. 8vo.

[2] Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. i. p. 534. Bliss's edit.

A notable and *Comfortable expoſition of M.* IOHN KNOXES, VPON THE FOVRTH *of Mathew, concerning the tentations of Christ:*

Firſt had in the publique Church, and then afterwards written for the comfort of certaine priuate friends, but now publiſhed in print for the benefite of all that feare God.

GOD IS MY

HELPER. Pſal. 7. 11.

AT LONDON,
Printed by Robert VValde-graue, for Thomas Man, dwelling in Pater-noſter-row, at the ſigne of the Talbot.

In small 8vo, signatures A, B, and C, in eights, black-letter, excepting the title-page and the following "Epistle Dédicatorie," which fixes the date of printing to the year 1583.

To the Vertuous and my very Godly Friend, Mrs Anne Prouze of Exeter: John Field, prayeth encrease of Grace, and constancie in that blessed trueth of God, which, by his grace, she hath received, to the end. Amen.

I beseeche you thinke not much (good Mystres Prouze) that having kept your papers so long, and not restored them, I do also now at the length adventure without your knowledge to make that common to moe and many, which was private to your selfe and some few others. I doe it not (God knoweth) to seek any commoditie to my selfe, but that I may profite the whole Church of God. And me think it is not meete, that that which was first publiquely done in the Church, by so worthy and notable an instrument of God as M. John Knoxe was; although in respect of particular friendship himself, did only at the firste communicate it with you, and some few of his freends; it also being a thing that would be so fruitfull and comfortable to manye, that it should lie any longer in the dust in secret, and not be published to the comfort of al. For first amongst the rest, it is a seal of his godly and wonderfull labours, carrying in the forehead thereof, of what an heroicall and bolde spirit he was: how painfully and constantly he stoode for the glorious truth and religion of Jesus Christ, and how mightily in the end, after many and tedious troubles, persecutions, and calamities, God gave him yet a victory, so that he prevayled against all those bulles of Basan. And although al this be testified in his sundry works already published, by that story of his

life which M. Smeaton, a godly minister, hath alreadye sette forth in the Latten tong;[1] yet if ever God shal vouchsafe the Church so great a benefite, (when his infinite Letters and sundry other Treatises shall be gathered together,) it shall appeare what an excellent man he was, and what a wonderfull losse that Church of Scotland sustained when that worthy man was taken from them. In mean time I shall desire you, that if you have any thing, besides those that I have received already, you will communicate them with me. He maketh mention in a letter to you, of the last parte of this Treatise; if you have it, I pray you give it againe to the Church from whence you had it. And if by yourselfe or others, you can procure any other his writinges or letters, here at home or abroad, in Scotland, or in England, be a meane that we may receive them. It was great pittie that any, the least, of his writings should be lost. For he evermore wrote both godly and diligently, in questions of divinitie, and also of Church pollicie. And his Letters being had together, would together set out an whole Historie of the Churches where he lyved. I am bold with you (because I know I may be thus bold with modestie) to employ any thing that is yours to the good of the Church. I know you live to your God, and as you have in times past; being no young scholler in his schoole, given sufficient testimonie to the Church of God of your sincere faith and holy profession, when you have lived in exile to enjoy it: so I perswade myselfe, that in this peace you will not forsake it, nor thinke any thing that you have too precious to bestow upon it. I keepe also by me, many of the writings, labors, and letters of that worthy and godly man's, your late and deare husband, M. EDWARD DERING[2]

[1] The account of Knox's last illness and death, by Thomas Smeton, Principal of the University of Glasgow, was published along with his "Responsio ad Arch. Hamiltonii Dialogum," &c. Edin. 1579, 4to.

[2] Dering, or Deering, was descended from an ancient family in Kent, and was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, of which he was chosen Fellow in 1568, having in the previous year been admitted Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity. He was chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk, and,

(whom I name even for honor's sake), and gather them in dayly, as I can get them, of his and my good friendes: One day the Lord may give opportunitie, that as he liveth still by those notable readings of his in Poules Church, so he may live in his other writings, and all may thorowly see what a man also he was, and what a losse we received when God tooke him from amongst us. In meane time, I beseech you, do as you do; continue the Lordes duetifull and faithfull remembrancer. Remember the hope of your calling, and beeing now nearer your salvation than at the first, strive on forwarde with good courage. Beware of the worlde, and let those be an example to you to stand fast, whome you have seene, and see dayly, to fall from the love of the truth. A day shall come, when you shall reape in joye, that which you sow now in mourning and sorrow; and He that hath strengthned you heretofore to endure stronge tentations, afflictions, and troubles, and to overcome them, will strengthen you still, if you still leane upon him. Assure yourselfe that He cannot deceive you. He that loved us for himselfe, and for his owne name's sake, before we were, and before the foundation of the worlde was layed, Hee will love us still, because his love is unchaungeable, built upon his own good will, and not upon our workes, either good or evill. Be therefore of good comfort in your profession, let not the wicked grieve you, but looke up to Him that guideth all things for his own glory, and hath made the wicked for a day of vengeance, that he may be magnified in his judgements.

The Lord Jesus evermore assist us, and seale the reconciliation, which he hath wrought for us in our hearts, with the seale

as is here noticed by Field, was one of the Readers at St Paul's; he was also Rector of Pluckley, 1569, and a Prebendary of Salisbury, 1571. "He was much celebrated for his eloquence in the pulpit, and for his general learning and acuteness as a disputant; but he became a violent opposer of church government as then established."—(Darling's Cyclopædia Bibliographica.) Some expressions used by Deering in regard to the hierarchy, and the new statutes proposed for Cambridge, led to his suspension by Archbishop Parker; but he was restored by an order of the Privy Council. (Strype's Life of Parker, pp. 380, 426–429). He died in the year 1576.

of his owne Spirit, that we may feele it, and bee comforted with that comfort that none can take from us. Amen.

Fare you well. London, this first day of the first moneth, in the yeare 1583.

Yours, as you know, assured in Christ,

JOHN FIELDE.

An Exposition upon Mathew iv., concerning the Temptations of Christ in the Wilderness.

Verse 1.—*Then Jesus was led by the Spreit into the Desert that he suld be temptit of the Divill, &c.*

The caus moving me to intreat this place of Scripture is, that sic as be the inscrutabill providence of God do fall in dyvers tentationis, judge not thame selves be reasone thairof less acceptabill in Godis presence; but contrariwyse, having the way preparit to victorie be Chryst Jesus, sall not feir above measure the craftie assaltis of that subtill serpent, Sathan; but with joy and bold corage, having sic a gyd as heir is payntit furth, suche a championn, and sic weaponis as heir ar to be found, (yf with obedience we will heir, and with unfeaned faith beleive,) may assure oure selves of God's present favour, and of finall victorie, by the meanes of Him, who, for oure saifgaird and delyverance, hath entirit in the battell, and triumphed over his adversarie, and all his rageing furie.

And that the subsequentis heard and understand, may the better be keipit in memorie, be God's grace, we purpois to observe, in treating this matter:

1. First, What this word Tentatioun meaneth, and how it is usit within the Scriptures.

2. Secundlie, Wha is heir temptit, and at what tyme this tentatioun happinit.

3. Thirdlie, How and be what meanis he was temptit.

4. And last, Why he suld suffer theis tentationis, and what frute enseweth to us of the same.

Tentatioun, or to tempt, in the Scriptures of God, is callit to try, to prove, or to assalt, the valew, the power, the will, the pleasure, or the wisdome, whether it be of God or of creatures. And it is takin sum tymes in gud part, as when it is said, that "God temptit Abraham," "God temptit the pepill of Israell," that is, God did try and examyne, not for his awn knawledge, to whome nothing is hid, but for the certificatioun of uthiris, how obedient Abraham was to Godis commandement, and how weak and infirme the Israelitis was in thair journey towardis the promissit land. And this tentatioun is alwayis gud, becaus it proceideth immediatlie frome God, to opin and mak manifest the secreit motionis of menis hartis, the puissance and power of Godis Word, and the great lenitie and gentillnes of God towardis the infirmiteis (the horrible sinnis and rebellionis) of thois whome he hath ressavit into his regiment and cair. For wha wald haif beleivit that the bair Word of God culd so have moveit the hart and affectionis of Abraham, that to obey Godis commandement, he determinat to kill with his awn hand his best belovit sone Isack? Who culd have trustit, that under so many tormentis as Job did suffer, he suld not speik in all his great tentationis one fulische word aganis God? Or who culd have thocht, that God so mercifullie suld have pardonit sa mony, and so manifest transgressionis committit be his pepill in the desert, and yit that his mercie did never utterlie leif thame, but still continewit with thame, till at lenth he did performe his promeis maid to Abraham? To whome, I say, culd theis thingis haif bene persuadit, unless be tryell and temptatioun takin of his creaturis be God, thai had cum be revealatioun maid in his Halie Scriptures to oure knawledge? And sa this kynd of tentatioun is profitable, gud, and necessarie, as a thing proceiding frome God, wha is fontane of all gudnes to the manifestatioun of his awn glorie, and to the profit of the sufferer, how that ever the flesche judge in the house of tentatioun. Otherwys tentatioun,[1] or to tempt, is takin in evill part;

[1] In the margin of the old edit. "Tentation in evill part."

that is, he that dois assalt or assailzeis, intendeth distructioun and confusioun to him that is assaltit: as when Sathan temptit the woman in the gardine, Job be dyvers tribulationis, and David be adulterie. The Scrybis and Phariseis temptit Chryst be dyvers meanis, questionis, and subtelteis. And of this maner, sayeth St James, "God tempteth no man," that is, be temptatioun proceiding immediatelie frome him, he intendeth no manis distructioun. And heir ye sall note, that albeit Sathan appeir sumtymes to prevaill aganis Godis elect, yit is he ever frustrat of his finall purpois. By temptatioun[1] he led the woman and David frome the obedience of God, but he could not reteane thame for ever under his thraldome. Power was grantit to him to spoyle Job of his substance and childrene, and to stryke his bodie with a plague of seiknes maist vyle and feirfull; but he could not compell his mouth to blaspheme Godis Majestie. And thairfoir, albeit we be laid open sumtymes, as it wer, evin to the mouth of Sathan, lat us not think thairfoir that God hath abjectit[2] us, and that he takith no cair over us. No, he permitteth Sathan to rage, and as it wer to triumph for a time, that when he hath poured furth the venoume of his malice against Godis elect, it may returne to his awn confusioun; and that the delyverance of Godis children may be mair to his glorie and comfort of the afflictit: knawing that his hand is so puissant, his mercie and gudwill so prompte, that he delyvereth his litill anis[3] frome thair cruell enemy, evin as David did his scheip and lambis frome the mouth of the lyoun. For a benefit ressavit in extreame danger, doith more move us then the preservatioun frome ten thousand perrellis, so that we fall not in thame. And yit to preserve from dangeris and perrellis that we fall not in thame, whether thai be of bodie or spreit, is no less the work of God then to delyver frome thame. But the weaknes of oure faith doith not espy that; but this I omit to better tyme.

[1] It will be seen that Knox uses the word "temptation," in the sense to try, or trial.

[2] "Abjectit," cast away.

[3] In the edit. 1583, "little ones."

Last,[1] To tempt, betokinneth simplie to prove, or try, without any determinat purpois of profit or damage to ensue; as when the mynd douteth of any thing, and thairin desyreth to be satisfeit, without great love or extreame haittred of the thing that is temptit or tryit. As the Quene of Saba came to tempt Solomòn in subteill questionis; David temptit, that is, tryit him self yf he culd go in harnes; and Gedioun sayith, "Let not thy angir kendill aganist me, yf I tempt ye yit onis againe." This famous Quene, not fullie trusting the brute and fame that wes spred of Solomone, be subtill questionis desyrit to prufe his wisdome; at the first, nether extremelie haitting, nor ferventlie loving the persone of the king. And David, as a man not accustomit to harnes, wald try how he was abill to go, and behave and fassion him self thairin, befoir, so enarmit, he wald hazard battell with Goliath. And Gedioun, not satisfeit in his conscience of the first signe that he ressavit, desyrit, without contempt or hatred of God, the secound tyme to be certifeit of his vocatioun. And in this sense must the Apostill be expoundit, when he commandeth us to tempt, that is, to try and examyne oure selves, yf we stand in faith: and this muche for the Terme.

Now to the Persone temptit, and to the tyme and place of his temptatioun. The Persone temptit is the onlie weil-belovit Sonne of God; the tyme was immediatelie efter his baptisme; and the place was the desert or wildernes. But that we may mak[2] oure frute of the premissis, we must considder the same more profoundlie. That the Sone of God was thus temptit giveth to us instructioun, that temptationis, althocht thai be never so grevous and feirfull, do not separat us frome Godis favour and mercies, but rather declair the great graces of God to apertene to us, whilk maketh Sathan to rage as a roring lyoun; for aganis none doith he so ferslie fyght, as aganis thois in whois hartis Chryst hath takin possessioun.

[1] In the margin of the edit. 1583, "The thirde kinde of Tentation."

[2] In the edit. 1583, "But of intent we may make."

The tyme of Chrystis temptatioun is heir maist deligentlie to be notit. Then that is (as Marke and Lucas do witness) immediatelie efter the voce of God the Fathir had commendit[1] his Sonne to the warld, and had visibillie appoyntit him be the signe of the Halie Gaist: He was led or movit to go be the Spreit to a wildernes, whair fourtie dayis he remanit fasting amang the wyld beastis. This Spreit whilk led Chryst into the desert was not the Divill, but the Halie Spreit of God the Father, be whome Chryst, as tuiching his humane and manlie nature, was conductit and led; lykewys as be the same Spreit he was strenthened and maid strong, and finallie raisit up frome the deid. The Spreit of God, I say, led Chryst to the place of his battell, whair lang tyme he endurit the combat for the whole fourtie dayis and nychtis. As Lucas sayeth, "he was temptit," but in the end maist vehementlie, efter his continewall fasting, and "that he began to be hungrie." Upon theis fourtie dayis and this fasting of Chryst doeth our Papistis found and build thair Lent; for, say thai, all the actionis of Chrystar oure instructionis; what he did we aught to follow; but he fastit fourtie dayis, thairfoir we aught to do the lyke. I answer, If that we aught to follow all Christis actionis, than oucht we nether to eat or drink the space of fourtie dayis, for sa fastit Chryst. We aucht to go upon the watteris with oure feit; to cast out divillis by oure word; to heall and cure all sortis of maladeis; to call agane the deid to lyfe; for so did Christ. This I wryt onlie that men may sie the vanitie of theis men, who, boisting thame selves of wisdome, ar becum mad fuillis.

Did Chryst fast theis fortie dayis to teache us a superstitious fasting? Can the Papistis assure me or any uthir man, whiche wer the fourtie dayis that Chryst fastit? Plane it is he fastit the fourtie dayis and nichtis that immediatlie did follow his baptisme; but whiche thai wer, or in what moneth was the day of his baptisme, the Scripture do not expres. And albeit the day wer expressit, am I or any Christiane bound to conterfit[2] Christis

[1] In the edit. 1583, "commaunded." [2] Ib. "counterfaite."

actions as the ape conterfitteth[1] the act or work of man! He him self requyreth no sic obedience of his trew followers, but sayeth to his Apostillis, "Go and preache the Evangell to all nationis, baptising thame in the name of the Father, the Sone, and the Halie Gaist; commanding thame to observe and keip all that I have commandit you." Heir Chryst Jesus requyreth the observatioun of his preceptis and commandementis; and not of his actionis, except in so far as he hath also commandit thame. And so must the Apostill be understand when he sayith, "Be followeris of Chryst, for Chryst hath sufferrit for us, that we suld follow his futostepis," whilk can not be understand of everie actioun of Chryst; nether in the misterie of oure redemptioun, nether in his actionis and mervalous workis, but onlie of thois whilk he hath commandit us to observe.

But when the Papistis are so diligent in establissing thair dreamis and fantasseis, thay lose the profit whilk heir is to be gatherit; that is, Why Chryst did fast thois fortie dayis? whilk wer a doctrine mair necessarie for Christianis, then to corrupt the simpill hartis with superstitioun, as thocht the Wisdome of God, Chryst Jesus, had taucht us no other misterie be his fasting than the abstinence frome flesche, or anis on the day to eat flesche the space of fourtie dayis. God hath takin a just vengeance upon the pryd of sic men, whill he thus confoundeth the wisdome of thois that do maist glorie in wisdome, and doith stryk with blindnes suche as wilbe gydis and lanternis to the feit of utheris, and yit refuse thame selves to heir or follow the lycht of Godis Word. From such delyver thy poore flock, O Lord!

The caussis of Chrystis fasting theis fourtie dayis I find cheiflie to be tuo. The former, to witnesse to the warld the dignitie and excellencie of that vocatioun, whilk Chryst efter his baptisme was to tak upon him openlie. Secundlie, to declair that he enterit in battell willinglie for oure caus, and doith, as it wer, provoke his adversarie to assalt him. Albeit Chryst

[1] In the edit. 1583, "counterfaiteth."

Jesus, in the eternal consall of his Father, was apoyntit to be the Prince of Peace, the Angell (that is, the messinger) of his Testament, and he allone that suld fight oure battellis for us, yit did he not enter in executioun of it in the eyis of men, till that he was commendit to mankynd by the voce of his heavinlie Father; and as he was placeit and annoyntit be the Halie Gaist be a visibill signe gevin to the eyis of men. After whilk tyme he wes led to the desert, and fastit as befoir is said; and this he did to teache us with what feir, cairfulness, and reverence aught the messingeris of the Word enter in the vocatioun, whilk is not onlie maist excellent, (for wha is worthie to be Godis ambassadour!) but also subject to maist extreame trubillis and dangeris. For he that is apoyntit pastour, watchman, or preacher, yf he feid not with his haill power, yf he warne and admonische not when he seis the sword cum, and yf in doctrine he devyd not the Word ryghteouslie, the blude and saullis of thois that perische for lack of fude, admonitioun, and doctrine, salbe requyrit of his hand. Yf oure hornit and myterit Bischopis did understand and firmlie beleive this, I think thai suld be othirwayis occupyit than thai have bene this lang tyme bypast.

But to oure purpois: That Christ exceidit not the space of fourtie dayis in his fasting, he doith it to the imitatioun of Moses and Helias; of whome, the ane befoir the ressaving of the law, and the other befoir the communication and reasonyng whilk he had with God in Mount Horeb, (in whilk he was commandit to anoynt Hasaell king over Syria, and Jehu king over Israell, and Heliseus to be prophet,) fastit the same noumber of dayis. The thing that insewit and did follow the supernaturall fasting of theis tuo servandis of God, Moses and Elias, did impair and diminische the tiranny and kingdome of Sathan. For by the Law came the knawledge of sin, the damnatioun of sic impieteis, speciallie of idolatrie and sic as the Divill had inventit; and finallie, be the Law came sic a revelatioun of Godis will, that na man culd justlie efterward

excuse his sin be ignorance, be whilk the Divill befoir had blindit many. Sa that the Law, albeit it mycht not renew and purge the hart, (for that worketh the Spreit of Chryst Jesus by faith onlie,) yit it was a brydill that did let and stay the rage of externall wickitnes in many, and was a scholmaister also that led unto Chryst. For when man can find no power in him self to do that whilk is commandit, and perfytlie doith understand and believe that the curse of God is pronuncit aganis all thois that abyd not in everie thing that is commandit in Godis law to do thame: The man, I say, that understandeth and knaweth his awn corrupt nature and Godis seveir judgement, maist gladlie will ressave the frie redemptioun offired be Chryst Jesus, which is the onlie victorie that overthraweth Sathan and his power. And sa by the giving of the Law did God greatlie mak weaken, impair, and mak febill the tirannie and kingdome of the Divill. In the dayis of Helias, had the Divill so prevalit, that kingis and reularis maid opin war aganis God, killing his prophetis, distroying his ordinances, and erecting up idolatrie, which did so prevaile, that the Prophet complanit, that of all the trew feareris and worschipperis of God he was left allone; and wickit Jesabell socht his lyfe also. Efter this his fasting and complaynt, he wes sent by God to annoynt theis personis afoirnamit, who tuke sic vengeance upon the wickit and obstinat idolateris, (God grant oure eyis may sie the lyke, to his glorie, and comfort of his afflictit flock,) that he that eschapit the sword of Hasaell fell into the handis of Jehu, and thois whome Jehu left, eschapit not Godis vengeance under Heliseus.

The rememberance of this was feirfull to Sathan, for, at the cuming of Chryst Jesus was impietie in hiest degrie amangis thois that pretendit maist knowledge of Godis will; and Sathan was at sic rest in his kingdome, that the Preistis, Scrybis, and Phariseis had takin away the key of knawledge; that is, thai had so obscurit and darkinit Godis Halie Scriptures by fals glossis and vane traditionis, that nether wold thai entir thame selves into the kingdome of God, nether suffer and permit uthirs

to entir; but with violence restraynit, and with tirranny straik back[1] frome the rycht way (that is frome Chryst Jesus him self) suche as wold have entirit into possessioun of the lyfe everlasting be him. Sathan, I say, having sic dominioun over the cheif ruleris of the visibill kirk,[2] and espying in Chryst sic graces as befoir he had not sene in man; and considderit him to follow in fasting the futstepis of Moses and Helias, no dout did greatlie feir the quyetnes and rest of his maist obedient servandis, the Preistis and thair adherantis, to be trubled be Chryst. And thairfoir, be all ingyne and craft doith he assalt him, to sie what advantage he culd have of him; and Chryst did not repell him (as be the power of his Godheid he mycht) that he suld not tempt him, but permittit him to spend all his arteilyerie, and did ressave the straikis and assaltis of his temptationis in his awn bodie, to the end he mycht make weak and febill[3] the strenth and tirannous power of oure adversarie by lang suffering. For thus, me think, our Maister and championn, Chryst Jesus, doth provoke oure enemy to battell:—"Sathan, thou gloriest of thy power and victorie over mankynd, that thair is nane abill to withstand thy assaltis nor eschape thy dart, but at a tyme[4] or uthir thou givest him a wound! Lo, I am a man lyke to my brethren, having flesche and blude and all properties of manis nature, (sin, whilk is thy vennoume, exceptit;) tempt, try, and assalt me: I offer thee heir a place most convenient (the wildernes); thair salbe na mortall creature to comfort me against thy assaltis; thou sall have tyme sufficient, do what thow canst, I sall not flie the place of battell: Yf thow becum victour, thow may still continew in possessioun of thy kingdome in this wreachit warld: But yf thow can not prevaill aganis me, then must thy pray and unjust spoyle be takin from thee: Thow maun[5] grant thy self vanquischit and confoundit, and must be compellit to leif off frome all accusatioun of the memberis of my bodie; for to thame doith

[1] In the edit. 1583, "bet back."
[2] Ib. "the visible church."
[3] Ib. "weaken and make feeble."
[4] Ib. "at one time."
[5] Ib. "Thow must."

apperteane the frute of my battell; my victorie is thairs, as I am apoyntit to tak the punishment of thair synnis in my bodie."

O deir Sisteris, what comfort aucht the rememberance of theis thingis be to oure hairtis! Chryst Jesus hath fouchtin oure battell, he him self hath takin us in his cair and protectioun; how that ever the Divill rage be temptatiouns, be thai spirituall or corporall, he is not abill to bereif us out of the hand of the potent Sone of God. To him be all glorie, for his mercies maist aboundantlie pourit furth upon us!

Thair resteth yit to be spokin of, the Tyme when oure Heid was temptit, whilk began immediatelie efter his Baptysme. Whairupon we have to note and merk, that albeit the malice of Sathane doith never ceis, but alwayis seiketh the meanis to trubill the godlie, yit sumtymes he rageth more ferslie than otheris; and that is commounlie when God begynneth to manifest his love and favour to any of his children, and at the end of thair battell, when thai ar neirest to obteane finall victorie. The Divill no dout, did at all tymes envy the humill spreit whilk was in Abell, but he did not steir up the cruell hart of Cayen against him till God did declair his favour towardis him, be acceptatioun of his sacrifice. The same we find in Jacob, Joseph, David, and maist evidentlie in Chryst Jesus. How rageit Sathan at the tydingis of Chrystis nativitie! what blude causit he to be sched of purpois to have murtherit Chryst in his infancie! The evangelist St Mathew doith witnes, that in all the coistis and borderis of Bethleem wer the children of two yeiris old, and of less age, murtherit without mercie: A feirfull spectacle and horribill exampill of insolent and unaccustomit tyrannie! And what is the caus moveing Sathan thus to rage aganis innocentis, considdering that be reasone of thair imperfectionis thai culd not hurt his kingdome at that instant? O! the craftie eye of Sathan lukit farther than to the present tyme; he hard brutit be the thrie wyse men, that thai had learnit, by the apparitioun of a starre, that the King of the Jewis was borne; and he was not ignorant that the tyme propheceit of Chrystis cum-

ing was than instant; for a stranger was cled with the crown and sceptour in the kingdome of Juda. The Angell had declarit the glad tydingis to the pastouris, that a Savioure, whilk was Chryst the Lord, wes borne in the citie of David. All theis tydingis enflamit the wraith and malice of Sathan, for he perfytlie understude that the cuming of the promissit Seid was apoyntit to his confusioun, and to the breaking doun of his heid and tirrany. And thairfoir he rageit maist cruellie evin at the first heiring of Chrystis birth, thinking that albeit he culd not lett nor withstand his cuming, yit suld he schortin his dayis uppon earth, lest by lang lyfe and peaceabill quyetnes in it, the number of gudmen, by Chrystis doctrin and vertuous lyfe, suld be multiplyit; and sa he pretendit,[1] befoir that ever hie can opin his mouth in his Fatheris message, to cut him away amangis the uthir childrene. O, cruell Serpent, in vane doest thow spend thy venoume. For the dayis of Godis elect thou canst no schortin. And when the wheit corne is fallin in the ground, than doith it maist multiplie.

But of theis presidentis, mark, deir Sisteris, what hath bene the practeis of the Devill frome the begynning, most cruellie to rage aganis Godis children, when God begyneth to schew thame his mercie. And thairfoir mervale not, deirlie Belovit, albeit the lyke cum unto yow. Yf Sathan fume and rore aganis yow, whether it be aganis youre bodies by persecutioun, or inward in youre conscience be a spirituall battell, be not discorageit, as thocht ye wer less acceptabill in Godis presence, or as that Sathan mycht at any tyme prevaill aganis yow. No! youre temptationis and stormes that do aryse so suddanlie, argueth and doith witnes that the seid that is sawin, is fallin in gud ground, begynneth to tak rute, and sall, be Godis grace, bring furth frute abundantlie in dew seassone and convenient tyme: And that is it which Sathan doith feir; and thairfoir thus he rageth (and sall rage) aganis yow, thinking that yf he can repuls yow now suddanlie in the begynning, that then ye sall be at all

[1] In the edit. 1583, "pretendeth."

tymes ane easie pray, never abill to resist his assaltis. But as my hope is gude, so sall my prayer be, that so ye may be strenthinit, that the world and Sathan him self may understand and perceave, that God fighteth your battell. For ye remember, Sisteris, that being present with yow, and entreating the same place, I admonissit yow that Sathan culd not lang sleip when his kingdome was oppugnit; and thairfoir I willit yow, yf that ye wer in mynd to continew with Chryst, to prepair youre selfis for the day of tentatioun. The persone of the speiker is wreachit, miserabill, and nathing to be regairdit; but the thingis that wer spokin ar the infallibill and eternall treuth of God; without observatioun of the whilk, never can, nor sall cum lyfe to mankynd: God grant yow continewance to the end.

This muche have I breiflie spokin of the temptation of Chryst Jesus, wha was temptit; of the tyme and place of his temptatioun; now resteth to be spokin, How he was temptit, and be what meanis. The most part of expositouris do think that all this temptatioun was in spreit and imaginatioun onlie, the corporall senssis being nothing movit. I will contend with no man in sic cassis, but pacientlie will I suffer everie man to abound in his awn knawledge; and without prejudice of any mannis estimatioun, I offer my judgement to be weyit and considderit be Christiane cheritie. It appeireth to me be the plane text, that Chryst suffirit this temptatioun in bodie and spreit; that lykewys, as the hunger whilk Chryst did suffer, and the desert in whilk he remanit, wer not thingis objectit[1] to the imaginatioun, but that the bodie did verelie remane in wildernes amang beastis, and efter fourtie dayis did hunger and faynt for lack of fude; so the externall eare sall heir the tempting wordis of Sathan, whilk did entir into the knawledge of the saule, which repelling the venoume of sic temptationis, causit the toung to speak and confute Sathan, to oure unspeakeabill comfort and consolatioun. It apeireth also, that the bodie of Chryst Jesus was caried be Sathan frome the wildernes unto the tempill of

[1] "Objectit," offered, presented.

Jerusalem, and that it was placeit upon the pinnacle of the same tempill, frome whence it was careit to a high montane, and thair temptit. If any man can schaw the contrarie heirof be the plane Scriptures of God, with all submissioun and thanksgeving, I will prefer his judgement to my awn; but yf the matter stand onlie in probabilitie and opinioun of men, then is it lawfull for me to beleive as the Scripture heir speiketh, that is, that Sathan spak and Chryst answerit; and Sathan tuk him and caried him frome ane place to another. Besydis the evidence of the text affirmyng theis presidentis, that Sathan was permittit to carie the bodie of Chryst frome place to place, and yit was not permittit to execut any farther tirranye aganis it, is maist singular comfort to suche as be afflictit or trubillit in bodie or spreit. The weak and feabill consciences of man under suche temptationis, doith commonlie gather and collect a fals consequent. For thus doith man reasone: The bodie or the spreit is vexit be assaltis and temptationis of Sathan, and hie doith carie or molest it; thairfoir God is angrie with it, and taketh no cair over it. I answer, Tribulationis and grevous vexationis of bodie or of mynd ar not ever signis of Godis displeasure aganis the sufferer, nether yit doith it follow that God hath cast away the cair of his creatures, becaus he permittis thame to be molestit and vexit for a tyme. For yf any sort of tribulatioun wer the infallibill signe of Godis displeasure, then suld we condempn the best belovit children of God. But of this matter we may perhappis speik[1] efter this more amplie. Now to the tentatioun:

Verse the 2d, *And when he had fastit fourtie dayis and fourtie nichtis, he was efterward hungrie.*[2]

Verse the 3d, *Then came to him the Tempter, and said, Yf thow*[3] *be the Sone of God, command that theis stonis be maid breid*, &c.

[1] In the edit. 1583, "we may chance to speake."

[2] Ib. "He efterwards hungred."

[3] Ib. "And Sathan sayd, If thou."

Why Chryst fastit fourtie dayis and wold not exceid the same, (without sense and feilling of hunger,) is partlie befoir tuichit; that is, he wold provoke the divill to battell be the wildernes and lang abstinence; but he wold not usurpe or arrogate no more to him self in that case then God had wrocht with uthiris his servandis and messingeris befoir. Not but that Chryst Jesus, (as St Augustine doith moir amplie declair,) without feilling of hunger, mycht have indurit the hale yeir (yea, time without end), as weill as he did indure the space of fourtie dayis: For the nature of the mankynd was susteanit thois fourtie dayis by the invisibill power of God, whilk is at all tymes of equall power. But Chryst, willing to offir farther occasioun to Sathan to proceid in tempting of him, permittit the humane nature to crave ernistlie that whilk it lackit, that is to say, refresching of meat, whilk persavit, Sathan taketh occasioun (as afoir) to tempt and assalt. Sum judged that Sathan tempted Chryst in gluttonye; but that apeireth litill to agrie with the purpois of the Halie Gaist; who scheweth us this historie to let us understand, that Sathan never ceasseth to oppugne the children of God, but continewallie, be a meane[1] or other, dryveth and provoketh thame to sum wickit opinionis of thair God; and to have desyreit stonis to have bene convertit in bread, or to haif desyrit the hunger to haif bene satisfeit, hath nether bene sin, nether yit wickit opinion of God. And thairfoir I dout not but the temptatioun was mair spirituall, mair subtil, and mair dangerous. Sathan hath respect to the voce of God, whilk hath pronuncit Chryst to be his weilbelovit Sone, &c. Against this voce he fightis, as his nature is ever to do, aganis the assurit and immutabill Word of God: for sic is his malice against God and aganis his chosin children. That whair and to whome God pronuncis love and mercie, to theis threatnys he displeasure and dampnatioun; and whair God threatnis death, thair is he bold to pronunce lyfe; and for this caus is Sathan callit a lier frome the begynning. And sa the purpois of Sathan is to

NOTE DILIGENTLY.

[1] In the edit. 1583, "by one meane."

dryve Chryst into disperatioun, that he sall not beleive the former voce[1] of God his Father; and sa this apeireth to be the meanyng of this temptatioun: "Thou hes hard (wold Sathan say) a voce proclamit in the air, that thow wes the belovit Sone of God, in whome his saule was weill compleassit; but may thow not be judgeit mair nor mad, and fonder than the braneles fule, yf thow do believe any sic promeis? Whair ar the signis of his love? Art thow not abject[2] frome comfort of all creature? Thow art in wors case than the brute beastis, for everie day thai hunt for thair pray, and the erth produceth gers[3] and herbis for thair sustentatioun, sa that nane of thame ar pynit and consumit away be hunger; but thou hes fastit fourtie dayis and nychtis, ever awaytting upon sum relief and comfort frome above, but thy best provisioun is hard stonis; yf thow doest glorie in thy God, and doest verilie beleif the promeis that is maid, command that theis stonis be bread. But evident it is, that so thou canst not do; for yf thou couldest, or yf thy God wold have schewit thee any suche pleasure, thou mychtest lang ago haif removit thy hunger, and neidis not to have endurit this languisching for lack of fude. But seing thou hes long continewit and na provisioun is maid for thee, vanitie it is langer to beleive any suche promeis; and thairfoir dispair of any help frome Godis hand, and provyde for thy self be sum other meanis."

NOTE THESE ARGUMENTS.

Many wordis have I usit heir, (deirlie Belovit[4]), but I can not express the thousand part of the malicious dispyt whilk lurkit in this one temptatioun of Sathan. It is a mocking of Chryst and of his obedience. It is a plane denyall of Godis promeis. It is the triumphing voce of him that apeireth to have gottin victorie. O how bitter this tentatioun is, no creature can understand but sic as feilleth the dolour of sic dartis as Sathan casteth at the tender conscience of thois that gladlie wold rest and repois in God, and in the promissis of his mercie.

[1] "Voce," voice.
[2] "Abject," abjected, cast down.
[3] In the edit. 1583, "grasse."
[4] Ib. "Deare Sisters."

But heir is to be nottit the ground and foundatioun of this temptatioun. The conclusioun of Sathan is this: Thou art none of Godis elect, muche less his weilbelovit Sone. His reasone is this, Thow art in trubill and findis no releif. Then the foundatioun of the tentatioun was Chrystis povertie, and the lack of fude without hoip of remedie to be sent frome God. And it is the same tentation whilk the Divill objectit to him be the princes of the preistis in his grevous tormentis upon the cross. For this thai cry, "Yf he be the Sone of God, lat him come doun fra the cross and we sall beleif in him: He trustit in God, lat him delyver him, yf he haif pleasure in him." As yf thai wald say, God is the delyverer of his servandis frome trubillis; God never permittis thois that feir him to cum to confussioun: This man we sie in extreame trubill; yf he be the Sone of God, or yit a trew worschipper of his name, he will delyver him frome this calamitie; yf he delyver him not, but suffer him to perische in theis anguischis, than is it ane assurit signe that God hath rejectit him as ane hypocrit, that sall have na portioun of his glorie. Thus, I say, taketh Sathan occasioun to tempt, and moveth also uthiris to judge and condemp Godis elect and chosin children, be reasone that trubillis ar multiplyit upon thame.

But with what weaponis we aucht to fight aganis sic enemyis and assaltis, we sall learne in the answer of Chryst Jesus whilk followeth:

Verse the 4th, *But he, answering said, It is writtin, Man liveth not be bread onlie, but be everie word whilk proceideth out of the mouth of God.*

This answer of Chryst proveth the sentence whilk we have brocht of the afoir namit tentatioun, to be the verie meanyng of the Halie Gaist; for unles the purpois of Sathan had bene to haif removit Chryst frome all hoip of Godis mercifull providence towardis him in that his necessitie, Chryst had answerit nothing directlie to his wordis, saying, "Command that theis stonis be

maid bread." But Chryst Jesus persaving his art and malicious subtilitie, answereth directlie to his meanyng, his wordis nathing regairdit. In whilk answer Sathan was sa confoundit, that he was aschamit to reply any farther in that behalf

But that ye may the better understand the meanyng of Chrystis answer, we will phrase and repeat it over in mo wordis. "Thow labourest Sathan (will Chryst say) to bring in my hart a dout and suspicioun of my Fatheris promeis, whilk was opinlie proclamit in my baptisme, be reasone of my hunger, and that I lack all carnall provisioun. Thow art bold to affirme that God taketh no cair over me: but thou art a disceatfull and fals corrupt sophister, and thy argument is vane and full of blasphemies; for thou bindest Godis love, mercie, and providence to the having or wanting of corporall provisioun, whilk no part of Godis Scriptures do teache ws, but rather thai expres contrarie. As it is writtin, 'Man liveth not be bread onlie, but be everie word that proceideth frome the mouth of God;' that is, the verie lyfe and felicitie of man consisteth not in aboundance of corporall thingis, for the possessioun and having of thame maketh na man blissit nor happie; nether sall the lack of thame be the caus of his finall miserie; but the verie lyfe of man consisteth in God, and in his promissis pronunced be his awne mouth, unto the whilk whoso cleaveth and sticketh unfeanidlie, sall leif the lyfe everlasting. And althocht all creatures in erth forsaik him, yit sall not his corporall lyfe perische till the tyme apoyntit be God aproche: For God hath meanis to feid, preserve, and manteane, unknawin to manis reassone, and contrarie to the commoun cours of nature: He fed his pepill Israell in the desert fourtie yeiris, without the provisioun of man. He preservit Jonas in the whaillis bellie; and manteanit and keipit the bodeis of the thrie children in the furnace of fyre. Reasone and the naturall man culd haif seen nothing in theis cassis but distructioun and deth, and culd have judgeit nathing, but that God had cast away the cair of theis his creatures, and yit was his providence maist vigilant towardis thame in the extreami-

tie of thair dangeris, frome whilk he did so delyver thame, and in the middis of thame did so assist thame, that his glorie, whilk is his mercie and gudnes, did mair appeir and schyne after thair trubillis then it culd haif done yf thai had not fallin in thame. And thairfoir I measure not the treuth and favour of God, by having or by lacking of corporall necessiteis, but by the promeis that he hath maid to me: as He him self is immutabill, so is his word and promeis constant, whilk I beleif, and to whilk I stick and do cleave, what ever can cum externallie to the bodie."

In this answer of Chryst we may espy,[1] what weaponis ar to be usit aganis oure adversarie the Devill, and how that we may confut his argumentis, whilk craftelie, and of malice, he makith aganis Godis elect. Chryst mycht have repulsit Sathan with a word or thocht, commanding him to silence, as he to whome all power wes given in heavin and erth, but it pleasit his mercie to teache us how to use the sword of the Halie Gaist, whilk is the Word of God, in battaill against oure spirituall enemy. The Scripture that Chryst bringeth, is writtin in the eight chapter of Deuteronomy. It was spokin be Moses a litill befoir his deth, to establishe the pepill in Godis mercifull providence. For in the same chapter, and in certane otheris that go befoir, he rekoneneth the great travell and dyvers dangeris, with the extreame necessiteis that thai had sustenit in the desert; the space of fourtie yeiris, and yit, notwithstanding how constant God had bene in keiping and performyng his promeis; for then throucht all perrellis had he conductit thame to the syght and borderis of the promissit land. And so this Scripture maist directlie answereth to the tentatioun of Sathan; for thus doith Sathan reasone (as befoir is said), "Thow art in povertie, and hath no provisioun to susteane thy lyfe; thairfoir God taketh no regarde nor cair over thee as he doith over his chosin children." Chryst Jesus answereth, "Thy argument is false and vane; for povertie or necessitie secludeth not the providence or cair of

[1] In the edit. 1583, "Deare Sisters, we may espie."

God; whilk is easie to be proved be the pepill of God, Israell, whilk in the desert did often tymes lack thingis necessarie to sustentatioun of the lyfe, and for lack of the same thai grudged and murmurit; yit did never the Lord[1] cast away the providence and cair of thame. But according to the voyce that he had anis pronuncit, to wit, that thai wer his peculiar pepill; and according to the promeis maid to Abrahame, and to thame befoir the departure frome Egypt, he still remanit thair conductour and gyde, till he placed thame in peaceabill possessioun of the land of Canaan, thair greit infirmities and manifald transgressionis notwithstanding."

Thus are we taucht, I say, by Chryst Jesus, to repulse Sathan and his assaltis by the Word of God, and to apply the exempillis of his mercies, whilk he hath schewit to utheris befoir us, to oure awn souls in the hour of tentatioun, and in the tyme of oure trubillis. For what God doith to ane at any tyme, the same aperteaneth to all that hang and depend upon God and his promissis; and thairfoir, how that ever we be assaltit be Sathan, oure adversarie, within the Word of God is armour and weaponis sufficient. The cheif craft of Sathan is to trubill thois that begin to declyne from his obedience, and to declair thameselves enemyis to iniquitie, with dyvers assaltis; the end whairof is alwayis ane, that is, to put variance betuix thame and God into thair conscience, that thai suld not repois and rest thameselves in his assurit promissis. And to persuad this, he useth and inventeth dyvers argumentis. Sumtymes he calleth the sinnis of thair youth, and whilk thai haif committit in the tyme of blindnes, to thair rememberance; verie oft he objecteth thair unthankfulnes towardis God and present imperfectionis. Be seiknes, povertie, tribulationis in thair houshald, or be persecution, he can alledge that God is angrie, and regardis not. Or, be the spirituall cross whilk few feillis, and fewer dois understand the utilitie and profit of it, he wold dryve Godis children to desperatioun, and by infinit meanis mo[2]

[1] In the edit. 1583, "Yet did never God."

[2] "Mo," more.

goith he about, seiking lyke a roring lyoun to undermyne and destroy oure faith. But impossibill it is for him to prevaill aganis us, unless that obstinatlie we do refuse to use the defence and weapon that God hath offirit. Yea, I say, that Godis elect can not refuse it, but seikis for thair Defendour, when the battell is maist strong; for the sobbis, gronyngis, and lamentationis of suche as fightis; yea, the feir thai haif to be vanquischit, the calling and praying thai mak for continewance, ar the undoutit and rycht seiking of Chryst oure campioun. We refuse not the weapon, althocht sumtymes, be infirmitie, we can not use it as we wold. It suffiseth, that the hart unfeanidlie sobb for greatter strength, for continewance, and for finall delyverance be Chryst Jesus. That whilk lacketh in us his sufficiencie doith supply, for it is he that fighteth and overcumeth for us. But for bringing of[1] the exampillis of the Scriptures, gif God permit, in the end we sall speik more large, when it salbe intreatit, Why Chryst permittit him self thus to be temptit.

Sundrie impedimentis now do call me frome wrytting in this matter; but[2] be Godis grace, at convenient leasure, I purpois to finische, and to send unto yow. I grant the matter that proceideth frome me, is not worthie your labouris and paynis to reid it; yit seing it is a testimony of my gud mynd towardis yow, I dout not but ye will accept it in gud part. God the Father of our Lord Jesus Chryst grant unto yow to find favouris and mercie in the presence of that Judge, whois eyis and knawledge doith perce throw the secreit cogitationis of all hartis, in the day of tentatioun whilk sall apprehend all flesche, according to that mercie whilk yow (illuminatit and directit be his Halie Spreit) have schawit unto the afflictit. God of all comfort and consolation confirme and strenthen yow in his vertew,[3] unto the end. Amen.

[1] In the edit. 1583, "But for the applying."

[2] Ib. "which."

[3] "Vertew," power.

ANSWERS

TO SOME QUESTIONS CONCERNING BAPTISM, ETC.

M.D.LVI.

THE following Answers to some Questions in casuistry, chiefly relating to the efficacy of Baptism as it was administered in the Romish Church, are preserved in Dr M'Crie's Manuscript volume. As they occur in that volume among papers and letters written by Knox in the year 1556, we may safely ascribe them to that period. Other instances of the Reformer expressing his judgment on matters transmitted to him for advice, occur among his Epistles; and the readiness which he displayed in resolving such doubts, must have proved no small addition to his unremitting labours.

In reference to such Questions, Dr M'Crie remarks:—"The Questions are such as might be supposed to arise in the minds of pious persons lately made acquainted with Scripture, puzzled with particular expressions, and at a loss how to apply some of its directions to their situation. They discover an inquisitive and conscientious disposition; and, at the same time, illustrate the disadvantages under which ordinary Christians labour when deprived of the assistance of learned teachers. Our Reformer's answers display an intimate acquaintance with Scripture, dexterity in expounding it, with prudence in giving advice in cases of conscience, so as not to encourage a dangerous laxity on the one hand, nor scrupulosity and excessive rigidness on the other."[1]

[1] M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 193.

Ansueris to sum Questionis concerning Baptisme, etc.

The Baptisme now usit in the Papistrie, is not the trew Baptisme whilk Chryst Jesus did institute, and command to be usit in his Kirk; but it is ane adulteratioun and prophanatioun of the same, and thairfoir is to be avoydit of all Godis childrene.

That it is adulterat, and so consequentlie prophane, is evident: First, for many thingis be addit, besydis Chrystis institutioun; and all manis additioun in Godis perfyt ordinance, especiallie in his religioun, ar execrable and detestable befoir him. Secoundlie, the promissis of salvatioun in Chryst Jesus ar not in the Papisticall baptisme lyvelie and trewlie explanit to the pepill; the Word is not preachit; yea, that whilk thai reid is not understand. The end and use of a trew Sacrament is nōt considderit, but rather ar the pepill led to put thair confidence in the bair ceremony.

That nane of Godis children aucht, or may, with pure conscience, offir thair children to the Papisticall baptisme, ane reasone of the Halie Gaist pronuncit be St Paule, may instruct and assure sic as rather list to be obedient then contentious. "I wald not, (sayith he,) that ye sould have fellowschip with divillis: Ye may not drink of the Lordis cup, and the cup of divillis: ye may not be pertaker of the Lordis tabill, and of the tabill of divillis." Gif the caussis why sacramentis wer institute be rychtlie understand and considderit, this reasone of the Apostill sall dampn all thois that offir thair children to ane adulterat signe: for as sacramentis,

besyd uthir ussis and endis, ar ordeynit to be seallis of the justice of faith, sa ar thai also a declaratioun of oure professioun befoir the warld, and ane approbatioun of that doctrine and religioun, which is taught be sic as with whome we communicat, in ressaving the sacramentis. Now evident it is, that the Papisticall doctrine, in the cheif poynt of oure salvatioun, and thair haill religioun, is as contrarious to Chrystis doctrine and trew religioun, as darknes is unto lycht. Whilk nevertheles is approved and allowit befoir the warld, be all sic as communicattis with any of thair adulterat sacriledge, for sacramentis thai can not be properlie callit. I add, whasoever offireth thair childrene to the papisticall baptisme, offireth thame to the Divill, wha was autour and first inventer of all sic abominationis; and thairfoir, whasoever communicateth with the Papisticall sacramentis, approveth and befoir the warld alloweth whatsoever doctrine and religioun thai profes. Yea, farther, wha offireth thair children to the papisticall baptisme, offireth thame not to God, nor to Chryst Jesus his Son, but to the Divill, cheif autour and inventer of sic abominationis.

"Sall we be baptisit agane, (do sum demand,) that in oure infancie wer pollutit with that adulterat signe?" I ansuer, Na, for the spreit of regeneratioun, whilk is frelie gevin to us be Chryst Jesus oure haill sufficiencie, hath purgeit us frome that poysone whilk we drank in the dayis of oure blindnes. The fyre of the Halie Gaist hath brunt away whatsoever we ressavit at thair handis besydis Chryst Jesus simpill institutioun. We dampn it as detestabill and wickit; and onlie we approve Chrystis ordinance, the vane inventionis of all men refusit. And this, boith befoir God and man, suffiseth, without iteratioun of the signe; for be faith, and not be externall signis doith God purge oure hartis; and oure plane and continewall confessioun mair serveth to me than that we suld be rebaptisit. For that actioun, and the rememberance of it, suld suddanlie evanische whan contrariwyse oure confessioun declaireth, that in our infancie we ressavit the signe whilk Chryst commandit, whilk our

parentis esteamit to have bene the trew signe of Chryst. And in verie deed, the malice of the divill culd never altogidder abolische Chryst's institutioun, for it was ministred unto us, "In the name of the Father, of the Sone, and the Halie Gaist." And yit for that tyme, I confes, be reasone of our blindnes, it did not profit us, becaus it was adulterat, and mixt with mennis dreamis and fantasies. I confes, for the tyme it did not profit us; but now, as said is, the Spreit of Chryst Jesus illuminating our hartis, hath purgeit the same be faith, and maketh the effect of that sacrament to work in us with out any iteratioun of the externall signe.

Heirof I knaw may tua doubtis aryse: Former, that to the regenerat man the Sacramentis ar not necessarie greatlie: Secoundlie, that it is all ane whether oure children be baptisit with the Papisticall baptisme, or with Chrystis trew institutioun. The first I ansuer, That na man is sa regenerat, but that continewallie he hath neid of the meanis whilk Chryst Jesus, the wisdome of his eternall Father, hath apoyntit to be usit in his Kirk, to wit, the word trewlie preachit, and the sacramentis rychtlie administred. The word and the sacramentis hes Chryst Jesus ordeynit and commandit to be usit in his kirk, thairfoir aucht not the bold presumptioun of man to separat the same. Yf the regenerat man hath never ressavit the sacramentall signe of baptisme, he is bound to ressave the same: And that did Peter perfytlie understand, seing the Halie Gaist visiblie descend upon Cornelius and his houshald, whilk he perfytlie understude culd not be without the spreit of regeneratioun; and yit doith he contend and obteane that thai suld not be forbidden to be baptisit. And Paule also, efter his conversioun, and efter that Chryst Jesus had promissit that he was a chosin veschell to him, yit was commandit to wesche away his synis be baptisme. Whairof it is evident that regeneratioun doith not sa exempt man, but that anis he aught to be baptisit.

But the questioun is, Whether a man baptisit in Papistrie

aucht to be rebaptisit when he cometh to knawledge? And I ansuer, he aucht not; First, becaus Chrystis institutioun, as said is, culd not be utterlie abolissit be the malice of Sathan, nor be the abuse of man. Secundlie, becaus the Spreit of Chryst purgeth and removeth fra us all sic vennoume as we ressavit of thair handis; and superstitioun maketh not the vertew of Chrystis institutioun to be ineffectuall in us. We have sum respect also, that na mair be gevin to the externall signe, than is propir to it, that is, that it be the seall of justice and the signe of regeneratioun, but nether the cause, nether yit the effect and vertew. The seall anis ressavit is durabill, and neideth not to be iterat, least that be iteratioun and multiplicatioum of the signe, the office of the Halie Spreit, whilk is to illuminat, regenerat, and to purge, be attributit unto it.

"But be the same resone, (may sum reply,) aucht not the Lordis table to be commonlie usit?" Yes; but gif the significatioun of both sacramentis be deiplie considderit, we sall sie, why the ane aucht to be but anis usit, and the other oftentymes; for the halie Discipillis and servantis of Chryst Jesus dar not dispense with the ordinance of thair Lord and Savioure, but rather ar humblie subject to the same. And thairfoir, sic as this day contempn the use of sacramentis, of the Lordis tabill I meane, and also the externall word, declaris thame selves repugnant to the wisdome of God, whilk hath commandit his Discipillis to use that tabill in rememberance of him, that is, of his deth, and of the benefittis purchassit unto us be the same till his coming againe, he putteth na terme of perfectioun, what a man may atteane in this lyfe that he neideth not to use the sacramentis for aid and help to his infirmitie; albeit sum now a dayis brag of sic perfectioun, that thai suppose all sic exercissis to aperteane onlie to thame that ar children and infantis in Chryst, and not to thois that ar growin to perfectioun. But as the punissement of sic pryde and arrogancie is manifest this day to the kirk of God, for

thair perfectioun hath brocht thame to sic obstinacie and blindnes, that openlie thai blaspheme Chryst Jesus, sa sall it be felt be thame, when sic as with full obedience sa knyt thame selves to Chrystis ordinance sall ressave the croun of glorie.

Baptisme is the signe of our first entrance in the houshald of God our Father; be the whilk is signifeit, that we ar ressavit in league with him; that we ar cled with Chrystis justice,[1] oure synis and filthines being weschit away in his blude. Now, evident it is, that the justice of Chryst Jesus is permanent, and can not be defyllit; that the league of God is of that fermitie and assurance, that rather sall the covenant maid with the sonne and moone, with the day and nycht, perische and be changeit, then that the promeis of his mercie maid to his elect salbe frustrat and vane. Now, yf Chrystis justice be inviolabill, and the league of God be constant and sure, it is not necessarie, that the signe, whilk representeth unto me, and in sum maner sealleth in my conscience that I am ressavit in league with God, and sa, cled with Chrystis justice, be ofter than anis ressavit; for the iteratioun of it suld declair, that befoir I was a stranger fra God, wha never had publictlie bene ressavit in his houshald.

"Not sa, (sall sum say;) but becaus we have declynit fra God be manifest iniquitie, and we, sa fer as in us lay, have brokin that league maid betwix God and us, and have spoylit oure selves of all Chrystis justice: Thairfoir desyre we the former league to be repairit and renewit be iteratioun of the signe." I answer, The iteratioun of baptisme is not the meane whilk God hath apoyntit to assure oure consciences that the league betwix God and us is permanent and sure. But his Halie Spreit, wrytting in oure hartis trew and unfeaned repentance, leideth us to the throne of our Fatheris mercie; and he according as he hes chosin us in Chryst Jesus, his onlie weilbelovit, befoir the fundatioun of all warldis wer laid, and according as in tyme he hath callit us and gevin to us the signe of his

[1] Justice, righteousness.

childrene, sa doith he acknawledge and avowe us yit to be of his heavinlie houshald. And to seall the same, his everlasting mercie, mair deiplie in oure hartis, and to declair the same befoir the warld, he sendeth us to the tabill of his deir Sone, Chryst Jesus oure Lord, wha at his Last Supper, in his corporall lyfe had with his Discipillis, he did institute for his kirk, and command the same to be usit, in rememberance of him to his coming againe. To the whilk when we present our selves, as in hart we do beleive (I speik of Godis chosin childrene), sa in mouth we do confes, and befoir the warld solempnelie we protest, that we ar the houshald of God our Father, receavit in the league of his mercie according to the purpois of his awn gud pleasure; and that we, memberis of the bodie of Chryst Jesus, wer cled with his justice and innocencie, and thairfoir now doith he admit us to his tabill, and expresselie in his word setteth befoir us the bread of lyfe whilk discendit fra the heavin, to assure our consciences that oure former defectioun fra him notwithstanding, with joy doith he ressave us as the father did his unthankfull and prodigall sone, returning to him fra his wreachit conditioun and miserable povertie. This halie tabill, I say, hath the wisdome of God commandit to be usit in his Kirk, to assure the memberis of his bodie, that his Majestie changéth not as man doith, but that his giftis and vocatioun ar suche, as of the whilk he can not repent him towardis his elect. And thairfoir neid thai not to rin to the externall signe of baptisme, sic, I meane, as anis have bene baptisit, suppose that it was in the Papistrie; but thai aucht to have recours to the effect and significatioun of baptisme; that is, that of frie grace and mercie thai ar ressavit in the houshald of God; and for better confirmation of thameselves in this misterie. And to protest the same befoir the warld, thai aucht to adress thameselves, as occasioun salbe offerit, to the Lordis Tabill, as befoir is said.

Heirof I suppois that it be proved, That Baptisme anis ressavit sufficeth in this lyfe, but that the use of the Lordis

Tabill is oftentymes necessarie: for the ane, to wit, baptisme is the signe of our first entrance; but the other is the declaratioun of oure covenant, that be Chryst Jesus we be nurissit, manteanit, and continewit in the league with God our Father. The signe of our first entrance neideth not to be iterat, becaus the league is constant and sure; but the signe of our nurissment and continewance, be reasone of our dulnes, infirmitie, and oblivioun, aucht oft to be usit. And thairfoir, whasoever yit object that yf the Papisticall baptisme can in na sort seall in our hartis the league of Godis mercie, seames that thai, as apostatis and tratouris, have declynit frome Chryst Jesus, refusit his justice, and establissit thair awne: In few wordis I ansuer, that sa was haill Israell under Jeroboam, and yit did nane of Godis Prophetis requyr of thais that wer circumcysit be the preist of Bethell, and be utheris in that confusioun and idolatrie, to be circumcysit againe; but that onlie thai suld turne thair hartis to the leving God, that thai suld refuse idolatrie and joyne thameselves with the sanctuarie of the living God, whiche was placed at Jerusalem as in the dayis of Ezechias and Josias is evident: Na mair aucht we to-iterat baptisme, be whome soever it was ministred unto us in our infancie; but gif God of his mercie call us frome blindnes, he maketh our baptisme, how corrupt that ever it was, availabill unto us, be the power of his Halie Spreit.

"But then, (sall sum say,) it is alyke whether my child be baptisit with Chrystis trew institutioun, or with the adulterat signe." God avert from us that wilfull and fulische blindnes! for gif sa unthankfullie we rend[1] Godis benefittis offirit, we and our posteritie maist justlie merite to be depryvit of the same; as na dout thai sall, who so lichtlie do esteme thame, that thai mak na difference nor conscience whether thai dedicat and offir thair children to God or unto the Divill. Nether sall the factis[2] of oure fatheris, who did offir us to the same baptisme, excuis us, for according to the blindnes of

[1] In MS. M. "rent." [2] Factis, deeds.

thois tymes, thai judgeit and estemit that to be the perfyct ordinance and institutioun of Chryst Jesus, and thairfoir in simplicitie, albeit in errour, did thai offer us thair children to the same. They did not offer us to be circumcysit with the Jew, or with the Turk, but to be baptisit as members of Chrystis bodie. The religioun was corrupt and the signe adulterat, I confes; but this was unknawin to thame, and thairfoir is not thair errour and blindnes imputtit upon us, thair posteritie. But what sall this avale us, to whome the lycht schyneth and the veritie is so plainlie reveallit, that oure awn conscience man beir record that we do wrong, not of ignorance, but rather of malice; or that we dar not avowe Chryst Jesus before the warld? Sall it not be said unto us, "This is condempnatioun, that the lycht is cum into the warld; but now, men love darkness mair nor lycht. Gif I had not cum, and had spoken unto thame, thay had had no sin; but now, haif thai nathing whairby to excuse thameselves, becaus thai have sene, and yit do hait?" This assuredlie it salbe said to our confusioun, gif we proceid in sic contempt of the graces offirit. This, I trust, sall suffice the moderat.

Tuiching the Blude of beistis forbiddin to be eattin be the Apostill, [it] doth not bind this day the conscience of Christianis: for it was but temporall, and servit onlie till sic tyme as the Jewis and Gentillis mycht grow togidder in one bodie. And yf any ask, How can this be done? I ansuer, be the plane wordis of St Paule, wha wrytting to the Corinthians, planelie affirmeth, that meatis offirit unto idollis (whilk be the decree of the Apostillis ar forbiddin, as weill as is blude,) ar not to be abhorrit, nether yit to be absteanit frome, for any othir caus, but onlie for the conscience of him that sall admonische that sic thingis wer offirit unto idollis. "For his conscience sake, (sayith the Apostill,) thow sall absteane, othirwayes thow mayest eat whatsoever is sauld in the boucherie."[1] And to the Romanis,

[1] "Butchery," in the shambles. (1 Cor. x. 25.)

he solemnedlie protesteth, and that be the Lord Jesus, "that he assuredlie knaweth that nathing is commoun (that is uncleane and defyllit) by the self, but to him that esteameth it uncleane." And oure Maister and Saviour, Chryst Jesus, the end of the law and the accomplisment of all figuris, doith delyver oure conscience frome all doutis, saying, "Not that whilk entereth in by the mouth defylleth the man, but that whilk proceideth from the heart." Heirof I suppois it be plane, that the precept to absteane from blude, gevin be the Apostill, was temporall and not perpetuall; for uthirwayis the Halie Gaist, speiking oftin of the libertie of the Gentillis, wald have restraynit and exceptit it, as he hath done scortatioun,[1] whilk in the same decree is expressit, and licentious and filthie communicatioun, whilk the Gentillis estemeit na or small synnis.

Touiching Tythis, be the law of God thai apertene to na Preist, for now, we haif na Leviticall Preistheid, but by law positive, gift, custome, thai apertene to Princes, and be thair commandement to Men of Kirk, as thai walbe termit. In thair first donatioun, respect was had to another end, as thair awn law doith witness, then now is observit. For first, respect was had, that sic as wer accountit distributors of thois thingis that wer gevin to the Kirk men, sould have thair reasonable sustentatioun of the same; making just account of the rest, how it wes to be bestowit upon the poore, the stranger, the wydow, the fatherless, for whais releif, all sic rentis and dewteis wer cheiflie apoyntit to the Kirk. Secundlie, that provisioun suld be maid for the Ministeris of the kirk, that mair frelie, and without solicitude and cair, thai mycht attend upon thair vocatioun, whilk was, to teache and instruct the pepill of God. And sum respect was had to the repairing of the kirkis: whairof no jote is at this day in the Papacie rightlie observit. The poore,[2] we sie altogidder neglectit by the Bischopis, proud Prelatis, and filthie Clargie, who upon thair

[1] "Scortation," fornication. [2] In MS. M. "pure."

awn bellies, licens, and vanitie, consume whatsoever was commandit to be bestowit upon the poore. Thay preach not trewlie and sinceirlie, but thair landis, rentis, and pompous Prelaceis, is all thai cair for, and set rakennyng of.

A LETTER

OF WHOLESOME COUNSEL,

ADDRESSED TO HIS BRETHREN

IN SCOTLAND.

JULY M.D.LVI.

In the spring of 1556, while Knox was still in Scotland, he received letters from the Church of the English exiles at Geneva, inviting him to return and undertake the office of the ministry to which, during his absence, he had been appointed.[1] The state of affairs in this country was such, that he deemed it advisable to comply with this invitation. When about to leave for a season those among whom he had so assiduously laboured in word and doctrine, he wrote the following Letter of Counsell, containing such directions as he considered most suitable in the circumstances in which they were placed, for holding stated meetings for prayer, reading, and religious instruction, while destitute of the privileges of public worship. And, while recommending that their assemblies ought always to be closed as well as opened by prayer, he signified his own readiness to give them his advice by letter, whenever it should be required, on any difficulties which might perplex them in their conferring passages of Scripture. "There is every reason to conclude (says his Biographer) that these directions were punctually complied with; this Letter may therefore be viewed as an important document regarding the state of the Protestant Church in Scotland, previous to the establishment of the Reformation."[2] It is dated on the 7th of July 1556.

Although the Protestants in Scotland had hitherto been precluded from making an open profession of truth, or from enjoying the benefit of regular ministrations publicly sanctioned, their position was very similar to that of their brethren

[1] See "Brief Discourse," &c., *supra*, p. 51.

[2] M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 192.

in England during the reign of Queen Mary. "When the learned preachers and ministers," says Strype, "were most of them burnt or fled, and the flocks left destitute of their faithful pastors, some of the laity, tradesmen, or others, indued with parts and some learning, used, in that distress, to read the Scriptures to the rest in their meetings, and the letters of the martyrs and prisoners, and other good books; also to pray with them, and exhort them to stand fast, and to establish them in the confession of Christ to the death."[1] He elsewhere remarks, "The course they took in these sad times, was the same which the Primitive Christians did, when they were under their persecutions, namely, prayers and tears. They continued to assemble together in the hottest times: and in these assemblies sometimes they only prayed together."[2]

This Letter, with the running title, "Watche and pray with diligence," was printed at the time, being annexed to the original edition of his "Exposition of the Sixth Psalm," as well as in the republication at London in 1580.[3] It is also contained in Dr M'Crie's manuscript volume, with this title: "To his Brethren in Scotland, efter he had bene quyet amang thame."[4] The title in the opposite page forms the concluding portion of the separate title-page to his "Comfortable Epistle," given in facsimile, vol. iii. p. 237.

[1] Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. iii. p. 364.

[2] Ib. vol. iii. p. 245.

[3] See vol. iii. pp. 114–116, 238.

[4] Ib. p. 116.

A most Wholesome Counsell how to behave ourselves in the midst of this Wicked Generation, touching the daily exercise of God's most Holy and Sacred Word.

The Comfort of the Holy Ghost, &c., for Salutation.

Not so muche[1] to instruct you, as to leave with you (dearlie beloved Brethren) some testimony of my love, I have thought good to communicate with you, in these fewe lynes, my weake counsaill, how I woulde ye shoulde behave your selfes in the middes of thys wicked generation, touchinge the exercise of God's mooste sacred and holy Woorde, without which,[2] neither shal knowledge encrease, godlines appeare, nor fervencye contynewe amongest you. For as the Woorde of God is the beginning of lyfe spirituall, without which all flesh is dead in God's presence, and the lantern to our fete, without the brightnes whereof all the posteritie of Adam doeth walk in darkenes; and as it is the foundacion[3] of faith, withoute which no man understandeth the good wil of God, so it is also the onelye organe and instrument which God useth to strengthen the weake, to comfort the afflicted, to reduce to mercy by repentance such as have slydden, and, finally, to preserve and kepe the very lyfe of the soule in all assaultes and temptations. And therof,[4] if that ye desyre your knowledge to be increased, your faith to be confirmed, your conscience to be quyeted and

[1] In MS. M., "Not sa mekill."
[2] Ib. "without the whilk."
[3] Ib. "the fundament."
[4] Ib. "thairfoir."

comforted, or, finally, your soule to be preserved in lyfe, let youre exercise bee frequent in the law of your Lord God. Despise not that precepte which Moyses (who by his own experience had learned what comfort lyeth hydde within the Worde of God) gave to the Israelites in these wordes, "These woordes, which I commaunde thee this day, salbe in thy hart; and thou shalt exercyse thy children in them. Thou shalt talke of them when thou art at home in thy house, and as thou walkest by the way, and when thou lyest doune, and when thou risest up; and thou shalt bynd them for a signe upon the hand, and they shalbe papers of remembraunce betweene thyne eyes; and thou shalt write them upon the postes of thy house, and upon thy gates." And Moyses, in an other place, commaundeth them to "remember the lawe of the Lord God, to do it that it may be well with them, and with theyr children in the lande which the Lorde their God should geve them." Meaning, that like as frequent memory and repetition of Goddes preceptes is the meanes[1] wherby the feare of God, which is the beginning of all wisedom and felicitie, is kept recent in mynd: So is negligence and oblivion of God's benefites received, the first degre[2] of defection from God.

DEUT. 6.

Now, if the Law, which by reason of our weakenes can worke nothing but wrath and anger, was so effectual, that remembred and rehersed of purpose to do it, it brought to the people a corporall benediction, what shall we saye that the glorious Gospell of Christ Jesus doeth worke, so that with reverence it be entreated? S. Paul calleth it the sweet odor of life to those that shall receyve lyfe, borowinge his similitude of odoriferous herbes or precious oyntmentes, whose nature is, the more that they be touched or moved, to send forth their odour more pleasant and delectable: Even such, deare Brethren, is the blessed Evangelie of our Lord Jesus; for the more that it be entreted, the more comfortable and puissant[3] is it to such as do heare,

[1] In MS. M., "is the middis."
[2] Ib. "first grie."
[3] Ib. "mair puissant."

reade, or exercise the same. I am not ignorant, that as the Israelites lothed the manna, because that every daye they sawe and eate but one thinge, so some there bee now-a-dayes, (who will not be holden of the worste sorte,) that after once readinge some parcelles of the Scriptures, do commit[1] themselfs altogether to prophane authors and humain lectures,[2] because that the varietie of matters therin conteined doeth bringe with it daily delectation, where contrariwyse within the simple Scriptures of God the perpetuall repetition of one thinge is fashious and werysome. This temptation, I confesse, may enter in God's very elect for a time, but impossible it is that therein they continew to the end; for God's election, besydes other evidente signes, hath this ever joyned with it, that God's elect are called frome ignoraunce (I speake of those that are come to the yeares of knowledge) to some taist and feelinge of God's mercy, of the which they are never so satisfied in this lyfe, but from tyme to tyme they hunger and they thurst to eate the bread that descended from heaven and to drynk the water that springeth to lyfe everlasting; which they can not do but by the meanes of Faith, and Faythe looketh ever to the will of God revealed by the Word, so that Faith hath both her beginning and continuance by the Word of God. And so I saye, that impossible it is that God's chosen children can despise or reject the worde of their salvation of any longe continuance, neither yet lothe it to the ende.

Often it is that God's electe are holden in such bondage and thraldom, that they can not have the breade of life broke unto them, neither yet free libertie to exercise them selfs in God's holy Worde; but then God's deare children do not loth, but most gladly do they covet the foode of their soules; then do they accuse their former negligence, then lament they the miserable affliction of their brethren, and then crye and call they in their hartes (and openly where they dare) for free pas-

[1] In MS. M., "convert," or turn themselves.

[2] Ib. "humane letters."

sage of the Gospel. This hunger and thurste dothe prove[1] the lyfe of their soules. But if such men, as havinge lybertye to reade and exercise them selfs in God's holy Scriptures, and yet begin to weary, because from tyme to tyme they reade but one thing, I aske, Why weary they not also every daye to eate breade? Every daye to drincke wyne? Every daye to beholde the brightenes of the sunne? And to use the rest of Goddes creatures, which every day do kepe their owne substaunce, course, and nature? They shall aunswer, I trust, Because such creatures have a strength, [as oft as they are used, to expell hunger, to quench thirst, to restore strength, and][2] to preserve the lyfe. O miserable creatures![3] Who dare attribute more power and strength to[4] the corruptible creatures in norishing and preserving the mortall carcas, than to the eternall Word of God in the norishment of the soule, which is immortall! To reason with their damnable[5] unthankfulnes at this present it is not my purpose: But to you, deare Brethren, I write my knowledge, and do speake my conscience, that so necessarye as the use of meate and drincke is to the preservation of lyfe corporall, and so necessary as the heate and brightnes of the sunne is to the quickeninge of herbes, and to expell darkenes; so necessary is also to the lyfe everlastinge, and to the illumination and light of the soule, the perpetuall meditation, exercyse, and use of Goddes holye Worde.

And therefore, deare Brethren, if that ye looke for a lyfe to come, of necessitie it is that ye exercise your selfes in the booke of the Lorde youre God. Let no daye slyppe or want[6] some comfort receyved from the mouth of God. Open your eares, and he will speake even pleasant thinges to your hart. Close not your eyes, but diligentlye let them beholde

[1] In MS. M., "doth argue and prufe."

[2] The words enclosed by brackets are omitted in the original edition, and also in the edition of 1580.

[3] In MS. M., "wreatches."

[4] In the orig. edit., "to" is usually printed "too."

[5] In MS. M., "abhominable."

[6] Ib. "Let na day slip over without sum comfort."

what portion of substance is lefte to you within your Father's testament. Let your tounges learne to prayse the gracious goodnes of Him, whose mere mercy hath called you frome darkenes to lighte, and frome deathe to lyfe. Neither yet maye ye doe this so quietly that ye wil admit no witnesse.[1] No, Brethren, ye are ordeyned of God to rule your owne houses in hys true feare, and accordynge to hys Woorde. Within your own houses, I say, in some cases, ye are bishoppes and kynges; your wyfe, chyldren, servauntes, and familye are youre bishopryke and charge; of you it shalbe requyred howe carefullye and dylygentlye ye have alwayes instructed theym in Goddes true knowlege, how that ye have studied in them to plant vertue and repress vice. And therefore, I say, ye must make them partakers in readyng, exhorting, and in makyng common prayers, which I would in every house wer used once a day at least. But above all thynges, deare Brethren, study to practise in life that which the Word of God commaundeth, and then bee you assured that ye shal never heare nor reade the same wythout fruite. And thus much[2] for the exercises wythin youre house.[3]

Considering that Sainct Paule calleth the congregacion "the bodie of Christ," wherof every one of us is a member, teachyng us therby that no member is of sufficiency to susteyne and feade it selfe without the helpe and support of another; I thynke it necessary for the conference of Scriptures, assemblies of brethren be had. The order therin to be observed is expressed by S. Paul, and therefore neede not I to use many wordes in that behalfe; onely willing, that when ye convent[4] or come together, which I would wer once a weeke, that your begynnyng should be from confessyon of your offences, and invocation of the Spirite of the Lorde Jesus to assyste you in all your godly enterprises. And then lette some place of Scripture be plainly and distinctly red, so much as shal be thought sufficient for

[1] In MS. M., "witnessis."
[2] Ib. "this mekill."
[3] Ib. "houssis."
[4] Convene, assemble.

one day or tyme; which ended, if any brother have exhortacion, question, or doubt, let him not feare to speake or move the same, so that he doe it wyth moderation, eyther to edifie or to be edified. And hereof I doubt not but greate profet shall shortly ensue; for, first, by hearing, readyng, and conferryng the Scriptures in the assemblie, the hole body of the Scriptures of God shall become familiar, the judgements and sprites of men shall bee tryed, their pacience and modesty shalbe knowen; and, finally, their gifts and utterance shall appeare. Multiplication of wordes, prolixet interpretaciouns, and wilfulnese in reasoning, is to be avoyded at all tymes, and in all places, but cheifly in the congregacion, where nothing ought to be respected except the glory of God, and comforte or edificatioun of brethren.

If any thing occurre wythin the text, or else aryse in reasoning, whylke youre judgemente can not resolve or capacities apprehend, let the same be noted and put in wryting before ye dismisse the congregatioun, that when God shall offer unto yow any interpreter, your doubts beeyng noted and knowen, may have the more expedite resolution; or els that when ye shall have occasioun to wryte to suche as with whome ye woulde communicate youre judgementes, your letters may signifie and declaire your unceasing desyre that ye have of God and of his trew religion; and they, I doubt not, according to thair talentes, will endevour and bestowe their faithfull labours to satisfy your godly petitionis. Of my selfe I will speake as I think; I wyll more gladly spende xv. houres in communicatyng my judgemente with yow, in explanyng as God pleases to open to me any place of Scripture, then halfe ane houre in any matter besyd.

Farther, I wolde, in readyng the Scripture, ye shold joyne some bokes of the Olde and some of the New Testament togeder, as Genesis and one of the Evangelistis, Exodus wyth another, and so furth; ever endynge suche bokes as ye begynne, (as the tyme will suffer,) for it shal greatly comforte

yow to heire that harmony and weill-tuned song of the Holie Sprite speiking in oure fatheris frome the begynnyng. It shall confirme yow in theis dangerous and perilous dayes to behold the face of Chryst Jesus his loving spous and church,[1] frome Abell to him selfe, and frome him self to thys day, in all ages to be one. Be frequent in the Prophetis and in the Epistillis of St Paul, for the multitude of maters, most comfortable thairin conteyned, requireth exercyse and good memory. Lyke as youre assemblies ought to begyn with confessioun and invocatioun of Godis Holy Sprite, so walde I that thay wer finissit with[2] thankesgivyng and common praiers for princes, rulers, and magistrates; for the libertie and free passage of Chrystes Evangell, for the comfort and delyverance of oure afflicted brethren in all places nowe persecuted, but most cruelly within the realme of France and England; and for such other thinges as the Sprite of the Lorde Jesus shall teache unto you to bee profitable, eyther to your selves, or to your brethren wheresoever they be.

If thus (or better) I shall hear that ye exercyse yourselves, deare Brethren, then will I prayse God for your great obedience, as for thame that not onely have ressaved the word of grace with gladnes, but that also, with care and diligence, doe keepe the same as a treasure and jewell moste precious. And because that I cannot suspect, that ye will doe the contrarye at thys present, I will use no threatnynges, for my goode hope is, that ye shall walke as the sonnes of lyght in the myddes of this wicked generation; that ye shalbe as starres in the night season, who yet ar not chaunged into darknesse; that ye shalbe [as] wheate amanges the cockle,[3] and yet, that ye shal not chaunge your nature whyche ye have ressaved by grace, throughe the felouesehyp and participation whyche we have wyth the Lord Jesus in hys body and blood. And finally, that

[1] In MS. M., "kirk."

[2] Ib. "that they were never finished without thankisgeving."

[3] Ib. "kokill;" cockle, a weed that grows among corn.

ye shall be of the nomber of the prudent virgins, daylye renewynge your lampes with oyle, as they that patyentlie doe abyde the glorious apparycion and comming of the Lord Jesus; whose omnipotente Spirite rule and instructe, illuminate and comfort youre heartes and myndes, in all assaultis nowe and ever. Amen.

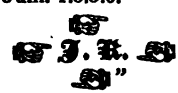
The grace of the Lord Jesus rest with yow.

Remember my weaknes in your daylie prayers. The 7 of July 1556.[1]

Your Brother unfeaned,

JOHN KNOX.

[1] Dr M'Crie has printed this Letter in the Appendix to his Life of Knox, but by some oversight in the later editions, he gives the date, 7th July 1557. In MS. M., the date is distinctly 1556. The old printed edition ends thus: "7. Julii. 1.5.5.6.



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THE FORM OF PRAYERS

AND MINISTRATION OF

THE SACRAMENTS, &c., USED

IN THE ENGLISH CONGREGATION

AT GENEVA.

M.D.LVI.

THE peculiar forms of Presbyterian worship and government may be clearly traced to Geneva and the writings of Calvin. His Catechism for the use of the Church of Geneva was first published in French in the year 1536, and in Latin, "Basileae, in officina Roberti Winter, anno 1538, mense Martio," along with a formulary of Confession and of Discipline for the government of the church which he had newly established in that city. This small but important and valuable work, being carefully revised, was republished under the following title: "Catechismus Ecclesiæ Genevensis, primo Gallice 1536 scriptus, deinde ab ipso Auctore eo, qui nunc exstat, ordine et methodo editus Latine: Adjecta Formula, tum Precum publicarum, tum Administrationis Sacramentorum." Genevæ, 1545, 8vo.[1]—"Catechismus Ecclesiæ Genevensis, hoc est, Formula erudiendi Pueros in Doctrina Christi. Authore Ioan. Caluino. Argentorati, apud Wendelinum Rihelium, Anno 1545," 12mo. In his preface, addressed to the Ministers in East Friesland, Calvin refers to his having published the brief summary of Catechism, seven years previously. This preface is dated at Geneva, on the 4th of the Calends of December, that is, on the 29th of November, 1545.

These Prayers were repeatedly published in a separate form. "Formes des Prieres Ecclesiastiques, avec le Maniere d'administrer les Sacremens, et celebrer le Mariage, et la visitation des Malades." Geneve, 1541, 8vo.—"Formes des Prieres, et Chants Ecclesiastiques." Strassbourg, 1545.[2]—"Formula Sa-

[1] Dr Paul Henry, das Leben Johann Calvins des grossen Reformators. Hamburg, 1844. Vol. iii. (Beilagen, pp. 190–195.)

[2] Ib. p. 202. I suspect the date 1541 must be a mistake for an edition with the same title, printed at Geneva in 1561, 12mo. That of Strasburg, in the year 1545, I have not been able to meet with.

cramentorum administrandorum, in vsum Ecclesiæ Geneuensis conscripta. Dudum a Joanne Caluino Gallice conscripta, nunc in Latinum conuersa ab alio quopiam. Genevae, ex officina Ioannis Crispini. M.D.LII." 12mo, pp. 31.

Of the Catechisms and Forms of Prayer referred to, there were numerous subsequent editions; and of the former, in particular, translations appeared in most of the European languages.[1]

The form of prayers and church service thus adopted by the Helvetic Church, has ever since continued in use among the French Protestants; and has also served as a model to the Reformed Churches in other countries.

When the French congregation of Strasburg sought a place of refuge in England, in consequence of the *Interim*, their minister, Valerandus Pollanus, translated into Latin, and published with a dedication to Edward the Sixth, dated February 19, 1551, the "Liturgia Sacra, seu Ritus Ministerii in Ecclesia Peregrinorum profugorum propter Evangelium Christi Argentinæ, 1551. Adjecta est ad finem brevis Apologia pro hac Liturgia, per Valerandum Pollanum Flandrum." Londini, 1551, 8vo. Strype, in his Ecclesiastical Memorials, has given a short abstract of this Argentine or Strasburg Liturgy.[2]

When these refugees were constrained to leave England during Queen Mary's reign, they obtained the use of a church at Frankfurt; and when several English Protestants arrived in that city in the year 1554, the same privilege was awarded to them, according to the details given in the "Brief Discourse," which forms the first article in the present volume.

As the two congregations were required to observe the same forms of public worship and discipline, the Liturgy already mentioned was, with some changes, adopted by the mutual con-

[1] An English translation, by Maister William Huyck, was "Imprinted at London by Edward Whitchurche, the viij. day of June 1550," 12mo. It is a volume of great rarity.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 242. See also Burn's History of Foreign Refugees, p. 91. Herbert's Typographical Antiq., vol. ii. p. 770.

sent of the French and English congregations, and published under the following title: "LITVRGIA SACRA, seu Ritus Ministerij in Ecclesia peregrinorum Francofordiæ ad Mœnum. Addita est Summa Doctrinæ seu Fidei Professio eiusdem Ecclesiæ. Psalm. CXLIX. *Laudem Deo canite in Ecclesia Sanctorum.* Ioan. I. *Veni et vide.* Francofordiæ, 1554." Small 8vo, pp. 92, (The colophon bears,) "Impressum Francofordiæ apud Petrum Brubachium, 1554."[1] In the Epistola Nuncupatoria, to the Christian Reader, the "Ecclesia Peregrinorum quæ est Francofordiæ collecta," expresses gratitude to the Senate of that city for the Christian liberty and peace which they enjoyed. It is dated in the Calends of September 1554; and the "Professio Fidei Catholicæ," is signed as follows:

"Subscripserunt Pastor et Seniores Ecclesiæ Gall. quæ est Francofordiæ.

VALERANDUS POLLANUS. Pastor Ecclesiæ.
IOANNES MURELLIUS. D.
GEORGIUS MAUPAS.
IACOBUS CRUCIUS.
LUDOUICUS CASTELLIO.

"Subscribunt etiam Angli ob Euangelium profugi, totius Ecclesiæ suæ nomine.

IOANNES MAKBRÆUS. M.
IOANNES STANNTO.
VUILLIERMUS HAMONUS.
IOANNES BENDALLUS.
GUIL. VUHYTINGHAMUS."

It is of some importance to notice this subscription by Mackbray, Staunton, Hammond, Bendall, and Whittingham, in the name of the English congregation, as fully confirming the statement of the unanimity which prevailed, and the terms upon which the use of the church had been granted by the Magistrates of Frankfurt.[2] This Liturgy was again republished in the fol-

[1] A copy is preserved in the University Library, Glasgow.

[2] See "Brief Discourse," &c., *supra* page 10.

lowing year, but the names of the English subscribers were omitted.[1]

According to Knox's own statement,[2] in order to terminate the discussions at Frankfurt regarding the forms of public worship, a settled Order was agreed upon, to remain in force till the month of April. In the "Brief Discourse," it is expressly stated, that previously to this agreement (which was so speedily disregarded) the English Congregation concluded, "that Maister Knox, Maister Whittingham, Maister Gilby, Maister Foxe, and Maister T. Cole, shulde drawe forthe some Order meete for their state and time: whiche thinge was by them accomplished, and offred to the Congregation, (*being the same* ORDER OF GENEVA *whiche is now in print*). This Order was verie well liked of many; but such as were bent to the Booke of Englande could not abide it."[3]

The increasing dissensions after Knox's departure from Frankfurt, necessarily prevented the adoption of this Order. Whittingham, in a letter without date, addressed to a friend in England, states, that as peace could not be established in that Congregation, he had visited Basel and Geneva, and obtained from the Magistrates of these cities permission for such of his fellow-exiles as might come to either place, to have full liberty to form themselves into a Church.[4] This must have been in the autumn of 1555; as it is recorded, that Williams, Wood, Gilby, Goodman, Whittingham, and ten others, with their families, came to Geneva on the 13th of October that year, *to use the benefit of the Churche then newly granted.* A memorandum bears, "that the Church was erected the first of November 1555."

The original edition of "The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments," &c., is dated in February 1556.[5]

[1] "Editio Secunda. Francofurdiæ, 1555." 12mo, sign. A to H, in eights, in the British Museum.

[2] *Supra*, page 41. [3] Ib. page 30.

[4] "Brief Discourse," &c., p. xlix.

[5] Of this rare and interesting volume, copies are to be found in the Advocates and Bodleian Libraries; and likewise in that of the late W. H. Miller, Esq., at Britwell.

Whether we are to understand this date according to our present mode of reckoning, or apply it to the year 1556–7, is somewhat doubtful. According to the former computation, the work must have been printed while Knox was in Scotland; yet as it had been prepared by him and the four others already named, and as it continued to be employed during his ministrations at Geneva, his concern in the work would still be undisputed. When the church was erected, on the 1st of November 1555, Christopher Goodman and Anthony Gilby were "appointed to preache the Word of God and mynystre the Sacraments *in the absence of John Knox.*" This evidently implies that he had previously been considered their minister, from his connection with the greater number of the congregation while they remained at Frankfurt. He arrived at Geneva with his wife, her mother, his servant, and a pupil named Patrick, on the 13th September 1556. And accordingly, when the annual election of the office-bearers took place, on the 16th of November, "when the first yere was ended, then the whole congregation did elect and chuse John Knox and Christopher Goodman to be Ministers." On the same day, in the following years 1557 and 1558, Knox and Goodman were "elected and chosen still to continue Ministers;" and in the lists of Seniors (or Elders) we find the names of Gilby, Whittingham, Williams, Fuller, Bodley, Wood, and Coverdale.[1]

It is not necessary in this place to institute any comparison of the early Liturgies of the Reformed Churches. Calvin's Forms of Prayer and Discipline, as already mentioned, served as a model for such of the English Congregations as objected to the full use of the Book of Common Prayer. The words in which the Prayers were expressed are changed, but the

[1] These particulars are derived from a little tract, entitled, "Livre des Anglois, à Genève," compared with notes kindly furnished from the Registers at Geneva, by the distinguished historian, Dr Merle D'Aubigné. The tract referred to, "With a few biographical notes by John Southerden Burn." It was printed at London, 1831, 8vo, pp. 20, as a sequel to Mr Burn's "Registrum Ecclesiæ Parochialis," Lond. 1829, 8vo.

forms of worship were alike. It was the adoption of this simpler form of public worship, and not matters of doctrine that gave rise to the unhappy dissensions at Frankfurt, and to Nonconformity in England, among the early Puritan Divines, whose consciences felt burdened when an absolute conformity to the ritual observances of the Church of England was pressed upon the clergy, by Queen Elizabeth and Archbishops Parker and Whitgift.

Considering Knox's share in preparing the following Order, his sanctioning its use, and its being usually known under his name, there can be little doubt of the propriety of including this Liturgy in its original form in the series of his writings. It is here carefully reprinted from the earliest edition. Another edition, in 1558, is specially referred to,[1] but no copy of it has been traced. We may however conclude, that like the edition of 1561,[2] it was a literal reprint of the original edition. The Latin translation was published at the same time with the English copy, and is usually attributed to Whittingham. In the earlier editions, it is accompanied with a translation of Calvin's Catechism, and with the metrical version of a portion of the Psalms, by Sternhold and Hopkins. These, of course, are here omitted. When the same Liturgy was received by the Church of Scotland, in 1565, it was accompanied with a complete metrical version of the Psalms, set to music; and several additional Prayers were subjoined. A collation of the Liturgy of 1565, known as the "Book of Common Order," with this of 1556, will afterwards be introduced.

[1] In the Collection of Confessions, (usually known as Dunlop's Collection, from its having a Preface by the Rev. W. Dunlop,) vol. ii. Edin. 1722, the Editor states, that in reprinting the Geneva Forms of Prayers, &c., he had collated one of the later editions, 1600, with a copy printed at Geneva in 1558. Another edition bears to have been "Printed first at Geneva, M.D.LVIII. Now reprinted at London, M.DC.XLIII." 4to.

[2] A copy of this edition is in the Editor's possession, through the favour of his Grace the Duke of Manchester.

The forme of pray-

ERS AND MINISTRA-tion of the Sacraments, &c. vſed in the Engliſhe Congregation at Geneua: and approued, by the famous and godly learned man, Iohn Caluyn.

The way to life is ſtreicte

and fewe finde it. Mat. 7.

They have forsaken me, the well of the water of lyfe, and dygged thymſelves pyttes, yea vyle and broken pyttes, that can hold no water. Iere. 2.

IMPRINTED AT GENEVA BY IOHN CRESPIN M.D.LVI.

THE CONTENTES OF THE BOOKE.

1 The confession of the Christian faythe. 33
2 Thorder of electinge Ministers, Elders, and Deacons. 42
3 Thassembly of the Ministery every thursdaye. 49
4 An order for the interpretation of the scriptures, and answeringe of dowtes, obserued euery mundaye. 50
5 A confession of our synnes vsed before the sermon and framede to our state and tyme. 52
6 An other confession for all states and tymes. 55
7 A generall prayer after the sermon, for the whole estate of Christes Churche. 57
8 The ministration of Baptisme, and the Lordes Supper. 62. 71
9 The forme of Mariage, the Visitation of the Sycke and the Maner of Buryall. 80. 87. 88
10 An order of Ecclesiasticall Discipline. 89
11 One and fyftie Psalmes of Dauid in metre. 1. b.
12 The Catechisme of M. Caluyn. etcet. 1. c.

In 12mo, roman letter, pp. 93, but pages 25 to 32 are passed over. The Psalms, with a separate title, contain pp. 159. The Catechism, also with a separate title-page, has pp. 168, the same woodcut on the first title being repeated, with this colophon:—

Imprinted at Geneua, by Iohn Crespin. Anno. D. M. D. LVI. the tenthe of february.

RATIO

ET FORMA

PVBLICE ORANDI DEVM, ATQVE ADMINISTRANDI SACRAMENTA, ET CAET.

IN ANGLORVM ECCLESiam, quæ Geneuæ colligitur, recepta: cum iudicio & comprobatione D. Iohannis Caluini.

I. COR. III.

Fundamentum aliud præter id quod iactum est, nemo potest ponere, quod est Iesus Christus.

GENEVÆ,

APUD IOANNEM CRISPÌNUM.

M. D. LVI.

RERUM NOTATIO QUAE
in hoc libello habentur.

1 COnfessio Christianæ fidei.
2 De conscribendis Pastoribus, Senioribus & Diaconis.
3 Ministerii conuentus, vnaquaque quarta die hebdomadæ.
4 Formula interpretandi Scripturas, prima septimanæ die obseruata.
5 Confessio totius Ecclesiæ nomine paulò antè concionem habita, ac temporib. accommodata.
6 Altera ad omnia temporum & ordinum momenta pertinens.
7 Preces à concione, ad vniuersæ Ecclesiæ Christianæ commodum factæ.
8 Ratio administrandi Baptismi, ac Cenæ Dominicæ
9 Modus instituendi matrimonii.
10 De visitandis ægrotis.
11 Ratio efferendi funus.
12 De Disciplina Ecclesiastica.

In 12mo, contains signatures A to E in eights, or pp. 80.

THE FORME OF PRAYERS AND MINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTES,

&c. vsed in the Englishe Congregation at Geneua: and approued, by the famous and Godly learned man. M. Iohn Caluin.

I. CORINTH. III.

¶ NO MAN CAN LAYE any other foundation, then that whiche is layde euen Christ Iesus.

1561.

THE CONTENTES OF THE BOOKE.

1 The confession of the Christian faith.
2 The order of electynge Ministers, Elders, and Deacons.
3 The assemblie of the Ministerye, everye thursdaye.
4 An order for the interpretation of the Scriptures and aunswering of doubtes, obserued euery mundaye.
5 A confession of our sinnes vsed before the sermō and framed to our state and time.
6 Another confession for all states and tymes.
7 A generall prayer after the sermō, for the whole estat of Christes Churche.
8 The ministration of Baptisme, and the Lordes Supper.
9 The forme of Mariage, the Visitation of the sicke, and the Maner of Buriall.
10 An order of Ecclesiasticall Discipline.
11 Psalmes of Dauid in metre.
12 The Cathechisme.
13 A brief examination of children, before they be admitted to the Lordes table, &c.

In 12mo, roman letter, signatures a to l 4, in eights, numbered as folios 1 to 80. The Psalms, marked in the above Contents as No. 10, are not, however, contained in the book. The Catechism, No. 11, having a separate title-page, commences on folio 36, sign. iij. There is added a separate half sheet, sign. aa., of Morning and Evening Prayers.

Herbert, who possessed a copy, says it is evident the Psalms were not designed to be inserted in this edition, "for the order of Eccl. Discipline is concluded on fol. 35; and fol. 36 is the title-page of 'The Catechisme,' &c" (Typogr. Antiq. vol. iii. p. 1604.)

THE Forme of prayers and ministration of the Sacraments &c. vsed in the English Churche at Geneua, and approued by the famous and godlie learned man, John Caluin, whereunto are also added the praiers which they vse there in the Frēche Churche:

With the confession of faith wiche all they make that are receiued into the vniuersitie of Geneua.

I. Corinth. III.

No man can laye any other fundation thē that which is laid, euen Christ Jesus.

Imprinted at Edinburgh, by Robert Lekprewik.

Cum priuilegio.

1562.

THE CONTENTS OF THE BOKE.

1. The confession of the Christian faith.
2. The order of electing Ministers, Elders, and Deacons.
3. The assemblie of the Ministerie euery Thurisday.
4. An order for the interpretation of the Scriptures, and answering of doutes, obserued euery Munday.
5. A confession of our sinnes vsed before the sermone.
6. A generall prayer after the sermon for the whole estate of Christes Church.
7. Other sortes of prayer to be vsed after the sermon the Sonday, and day of publicke prayer.
8. The ministration of Baptisme, and the Lordes Supper.
9. The forme of mariage, the visitacion of the sicke, and the maner of burial.
10. An order of Ecclesiasticall discipline.

In 12mo, printed in black-letter, signatures a to i 5, in eights, numbered as folios 1 to 68.

On the reverse of i 5, is this Colophon:

Imprinted at Edinburgh, by Robert Lekprewik and are to be sould at his hous at the nether bow. Cum priuilegio.

1562.

To our Bretherne in Englande, and els where, which love Jesus Christe unfaynedly, Mercie and Peace.[1]

It is more evident and known to all men, then well considered and thankfully receyved of many, with what greate mercies,[2] and especiall graces God enduede our countrye of England in these latter days; when from Idolatrie he called us to the knowledge of his Gospell, and of no people made us his people, a holie people,[a] the people of God; sendinge us a Kinge[3] moste godly, learned, zealous, wyse, and such one as never sate in that royall chaire before. God's Woord universally spred over all the lande, repentance preached, Christes kingdome offered, sinne rebuked; so that none coulde excuse him selfe, either that he had not hearde, or els was not taught God's holy Ghospell; yet it came to passe, and this day that is verified on us, which the Lord reproved Israel for, sayinge, "I have stretched forthe my handes all the day longe unto a people that beleveth not, but rebelleth againste me, and walke after their owne ymaginations."[b] For whose ways were not corrupt? even from the highest to the lowest, from toppe to toe there was no part sownde.[c] Suche contempt of God's Word, aswell on their be-

a Ose. 2. d. Rom. 9. c. 1 Pet. 2. b.

b Esa. 65. a. Rom. 10. d.

c Esa. 1. b. 7. Hier. 2. b.

[1] This Preface, or Address, is usually ascribed to Whittingham, Dean of Durham. It is omitted in the Edinburgh edition of 1562, and in the later impressions printed in Scotland. In the Latin version, the title is, "Gratiam et misericordiam vobis a Deo Patre, qui vel in Anglia, vel in aliis locis degentes, Christum Iesum ex animo colitis." It contains Scripture references as in the English edition of 1556; but has no marginal notes as in the edition of 1561.

[2] "God's greate benefites bestowed uppon England."—(*Marg. note, edit.* 1561.)

[3] In the Latin version, "Nam ut ex tanta varietate pauca quædam commemoremus, Regem cujusmodi? quam pium," &c.

half to whom charge of preachinge was commytted,[1] as on the other syde, negligence to heare, and learne to frame their lyves accordinge thereunto; that yf the Lord had not hastened his plague and prevented, it wolde certenly have come to passe, whiche those wycked men of Anathoth sayed to the prophet Hieremie:[2] "Speake no more to us in this name of the Lorde."[d] The which unkyndnes and contempt, wold God we coulde as earnestly repent as we nowe feele the lacke of these accustomed mercies. For nowe the day of our visitation is come,[e] and the Lorde hath broght the plagues upon us,[f] wherof before we were admonished, and most justly menaced. For the false prophets are sent forthe with lies in their mouthes[g] to deceyve England; and the scarsetie of God's Worde is so great,[3] that althogh they seke it from one sea coaste to an other, yet they can not finde yt,[h] but as men affameshed devoure the pestiferous dounge of Papistrie, to the poisoninge of their owne sowles.

d Hier. 11. d.
e Luk. 19. f.
f Lev. 26. c. Deut. 27, 28, 30.
g 1 King. 22. c. 2 Chron. 18. e. Ex. 14. c.
h Amo. 8. d.

Let us therfore, Bretherne, tourne wholy to the Lord by repentance, fastynge, and prayer,[4] earnestly besechinge him to receyve us once agayne to his favor, who willeth not the death of a sinner; but his amendement, offeringe him selfe to all theym that in their necessitie seeke unto him, and like a moste mercifull Father proveth all remedies for our betteringe;[k] not cruelly punishinge to destroy us, but gently chastisinge to save us.

i Joel 2. c. Psal. 68. a. Jon. 3. d. 4. a.
k 2 Chro. 36. c. Esa. 5. a. Prov. 3. b. Heb. 12. b. Revel. 3. d.

Beware then ye harden not your hartes agaynst this mercifull Lord,[l] and tempt hym as the stubburne Jewes dyd, whom he therfore delyvered up into their enymies handes, to perishe with the swoorde, hunger, and pestilence. For God wyll not be mocked,[m] but lyke a consuminge fire will destroye aswell the wicked contemners of his Worde as the craftie dissemblers,[n] which go abowte to measure God by their fantasies;[5] not con-

l Heb. 3. b. 4. b. Psal. 94. c.
m Gal. 6. b.
n Heb. 12. g. Deu. 4. d.

[1] "The cause of Goddes plagues in England."—(*Mary. note, edit.* 1561.)

[2] "Jeremie."—(*Ib.*)

[3] In the Latin version, "Famem etiam prodigiosam verbi sui excitavit."

[4] "The onelye meane for Englande to recover God's favour and mercie."—(*Mary. note, edit.* 1561.)

[5] In the Latin version, "Deumque ex suo cerebro metiuntur."

sideringe that they heape damnation against theim selves in the day of his anger,[o] which nowe already is kindled, and begynneth to flame, to the condemnation of their sowles and bodies, who knowinge Jesus Christ to have once fully satisfied for our synnes,[p] cease not dayly, either in hart, mowth, or owtward consent to blaspheme his precious death, and (asmoche as in them lyeth) crucifie him a newe.[q] Do you not remembre that idolaters have no portion in the kingdome of God,[r] but are throwne into the lake of fyre and brymstone, where their worme shall never dye? Can not the examples of God's fearfull judgements move you,[s] who spared not his verie Angells when they trespassed, but hitherto reserveth theym in hell chaynes, to be tormented in the day of the Lord? and wyll he then favor idolaters, dissemblers, blasphemers, mockers, contemners? and not rather in this lyfe verifie that which the Holy Ghost pronounceth against the children of God's wrath, who becawse they do not receyve the trueth for their salvation, are led by lyes to their endeles condemnation?[t] At the least, let God's forwarnings[1] somewhat move you to pitie your owne state, who for your instructions suffereth your owne bretherne amongst you to die so terribly, some in dispaire, others to kyll theym selves, and many utteringe moste horrible blasphemies, even to their last breathe. The which thinges are so fearfull for us to heare, that we tremble in thinking therupon.

Yf you wyll therfore be counted in the nombre of God's people, and be so in deede; loke not backwarde frome the plough, returne not to your vomit, bowe not your knee to Baal, pollut not the temple of the Holie Ghost, in presentinge your selves[2] [to that most wicked and blasphemous Masse, with such like] idolls;[3u] but either stand in the trueth, and so rather obey

o Rom. 2. a. Jam. 5. a.
p Heb. 9. a. Rom. 5. b. 1 Pet. 3. c.
q Heb. 6. a. 10. c. 1 Cor. 6. b.
r Gal. 5. c. Apo. 21. c. 22. c. Esa. 66. g. Mark 9. g.
s 2 Pet. 2. a. b. Jude a. Job 4. d.
t 2 Thes. 2. c. Joh. 3. c.
u Luk. 9. g. 2 Pet. 2. d. Pro. 26. b. Rom. 11. a. 3 Kyng. 19. b. 1 Cor. 6. c.

[1] "Horrible plagues for apostacie to idolatry."—(*Marg. note, edit.* 1561.)

[2] "The Masse wycked and blasphemous."—(*Ib.*)

[3] In place of the words within brackets, supplied from the edit. 1561, the original edition has simply "before idolls." In the Latin version it is, "Neque vos ipsos sceleratæ Missæ, aut simulachris præstetis, quo templum Spiritus Sancti violetis."

x Luk. 12. a. Act. 5. e.

God then man;[x] or els followe God's callinge, who hath so mercifully provyded for you, movinge the hartes of all godlie rulers and magistrates to pitie your state, and do you good, so that at Emden, Wesell, Franckford, and in this Citie,[1] he hath appointed godly churches, wherein you may learne to feare him, repent your synnes, amende your lyves, and recover agayne his favour and mercie.

And because there is no way more ready or sure to come to him, then by framynge our selves[2] altogether to his blessed wyll, reveiled unto us in his Worde;[y] we, to whome thogh God hath geven more libertie, yet no lesse lamentinge your bondage then rejoysinge in our owne deliverance frome that Babylonicall slavery and antichristian yoke, have earnestly endevored, emongste other thinges which might bringe us to the woorthy consideration of God's Woorde,[z] to frame our lyves, and refourme our state of religion in suche sort, that neither doute of the certeintie therof shuld make us feare, nor yet man's judgement discourage us, and cause us shrinke from this entreprise moste acceptable to God, comfortable to his Churche, and necessarely apparteyning to every Christian man's dutie.

y 1 Sam. 15. c. Mat. 17. c. Joh. 9. f.

z John 5. g. Luk. 1. g. 2 Pet. 1. c.

We, therefore, not as the greatest clearkes of all,[3] but as the lest able of many, do present unto you which desire the increas of God's glorie, and the pure simplicitie of his Woorde, a forme and order of a reformed churche, lymited within the compasse of God's Woorde,[4] which our Saviour hathe left unto us as onely sufficient to governe all our actions bye;[a] so that what so ever is added to this Worde by man's device,[5] seme it never so good, holy, or beautifull, yet before our God, whiche is jelous and can not admitt any companyon or counseller, it is

a Gal. 1. a. 3. c. 2 Tim. 3. d. Rom. 22. d.

[1] In the Latin version, "In hac clarissima Civitate."

[2] In the edit. 1561, "framynge our lyves."

[3] In the Latin version, "His de causis hanc Formam instituendi Ecclesiam conscripsimus, non tanquam omnium doctissimi, aut ad hanc rem maxime apti; sed cæteris quam plurimis inferiores, voluntate tamen æqui," &c.

[4] "The Word of God the onely foundation of this book."—(*Marg. note, edit.* 1561.)

[5] "To mingle mannes dreames with Goddes Worde is wicked."—(*Ib.*)

evell, wicked, and abominable.[b] For he that is the wisdome of the Father, the brightenes of his glorie, the true light, the woorde of lyf, yea trueth and lyf it self,[c] can he gyve unto his Churche (for the which he payed the raunson of his bloode) that which shulde not be a sufficient assurance for the same? Can the woorde of trueth deceyve us? The way of life misguyde us? The worde of salvation damne us? God kepe us from suche blasphemies, and so direct our hartes with his Holy Spirit, that we may not onely content ourselves with his wisdome, but so rejoyse in the same, that we may abhorre all thinges which are contrarye.

b Luk. 16. d.

c 1 Cor. 1. d. Joh. 1. a. 14. a. Hebr. 1. a.

The which considerations, dere Bretherne, when we waighed with reverent feare and humblenes; and also knowing, that negligence in reforming that Religion which was begone in Englande, was not the leaste cause of God's rodds light upon us,[1] having now obteyned by the mercifull providence of our heavenly Father a free Churche for all our nation in this moste wourthy citie of Geneva,[2] we presented to the judgement of the famous man John Calvin,[3] and others learned in these parties, the Order which we mynded to use in our Churche: who approving it, as sufficient for a Christian congregation,[4] we put the same in execution, nothing douting but all godly men shall be muche edified therbye. And as for the Papistes, or malicious men and ungodly, we have not laboured to satisfie them, becawse we knewe no souveraigne medecine for their cankered sore, except it may please God, by our prayers, to be mercifull to them, and call them home, if they be not already forsaken.

But yet, for as muche as there are some, which through contynuance in their evell, rather deliting in custome then know-

[1] In edit. 1561, "layd upon us."—"Religion was not perfitly reformed in England."—(*Marg. note, edit.* 1561.)

[2] In the Latin version, "In hac clarissima totius orbis terrarum civitate."

[3] Ib. "Judicio grauissimi et doctissimi viri D. Ioan. Calvini."

[4] "The approbation of the Godlye learned."—(*Marg. note, edit.* 1561.)

ledge,[1] can not suffer that men shuld once open their mouthes against certeyne olde and receyved ceremonies, we thoght good in this place somewhat to touche that scrupulositie. For as ceremonies[2] grounded upon God's Woorde, and approuved in the New Testament, are commendable (as the circumstance therof doth support), so those that man hath invented, thogh he had never so good occasion therunto, if they be once abused, import a necessitie, hinder God's Woorde, or be drawen into a superstition, without respect oght to be abolished.

For if Ezechias was commended by the Holy Ghoste for breaking in pieces the brasen serpent,[d] which Moses had erected by God's commandement, and now had continued above 800 yeres, which thing of it self was not evell, but rather put men in remembrance of God's benefit; yet becawse it began to minister occasion to the people to committ idolatrie, was not to be borne withall: how muche more oght we to take heed, that through our occasion men committ not idolatrie with their owne imaginations and phantasies? It was not with out great cause, commanded by Almightye God, that the places, and other appertenances, which had served to idolatrie shuld be utterly consumed,[e] lest babes and children, through occasion remembring the same, shuld falle into like inconvenience. And thinke you that we oght to be wiser? and not rather take heede, that those things which the Papistes and other idolaters have invented, or els observe as invented by man, may not enter in to Christes churche, as well to th'ende that the weake may not be confirmed in their error,[f] as that we may altogether seperate our selves from that idolatrous Babylon and temple of Belial,[g] wherwith Christ hath no concorde nor agrement?

d 4 Kyng. 18. a.

e Deu. 12. a. d. 13. c. d. 4 Kyngs 18. a.

f 1 Cor. 8. c. 10. Rom. 14. c.

g 2 Cor. 6. d. Esa. 52. c.

Ther was no one ceremonie more auncient, nor yet of better authorite, then the wasshing of the Disciples' feet, which was observed a longe time in the church, and institute by Christ him selfe;[h] yet when some wer persuaded that it was a portion

h Joh. 13. a.

[1] "Custome preferred to knowledge."—(*Marg. note, edit.* 1561.)

[2] "Certein causes why ceremonies ought to be abolished."—(*Ib.*)

of the Lordes Supper, and others thoght it served in steade of Baptisme, the godly churches in S. Augustine's tyme,[1] thoght it better to leave that which was ordeyned for a good use, then by reteyning the same, confirme an error or superstition. The Corinthians, for the relief of the poore, and to increase brotherly amytie togethe, dyd institute a feast,[k] immediatly after the Lordes Supper.[l] But how sharply S. Paul did reprehende the same, condemning in comparaison, that men shuld adde any thing to the Lordes institution, it appeareth by that he saith, "I have receyved of the Lorde that whiche I gave you."

We reade also, that Ezechias and his nepheu Josias restored the use of the Passeover,[m] which had bene a very long tyme discontynewed; but in the ministration therof, they observed no other ceremonies then God had left to Moses from the beginning.[n] Circumcision, likewise a sacrament, was evermore after one sort ministred, even as the Lord commanded it.[o] But such is the nature of fleshe, it wilbe wise, and have a stroke in God's doings; yea, and how wilfully it causeth man to maynteyne his owne phantasies, it is manifest to them which have perused the auncient recordes of the Churche. For begynning at Hierusalem, and so comming to the rest of the churches, as Constantinople, Antioche, Alexandrie, and Rome, he shall see playnly, that their greatest disturbaunce and overthrowe, chanced through ceremonies.[1] What conflict was at all tymes betwixt the Latine and Greeke Churches for the same, no Christian can consider without teares. And was there any thinge more objected against S. Paul, both of the Galatians and also of others,[p] then that he woulde not observe the ceremonies as the chiefe Apostles dyd? and yet he kept them whiles any hope was to gayne the weake bretherne, and therfore circumcised Timothe;[q] but when he perceyved that men wolde retayne them as necessarie thinges in the churche, he called that which before he made indifferent, wicked and impious, saying, that

[1] Epist. 119. ad Jan.

[k] 1 Cori. 11. d.

[l] Chrisost. in 11. cap 1. Corinth. Tertul. lib. ad uxorem

[m] 2 Chro. 30. a. 4 King. 23. e. 2 Chro. 30. a.

[n] Exod. 12. c. Lev. 23. c. Deu. 16. a.

[o] Gene. 17. b. Josu. 5. b.

[p] Gal. 1. 2. Act 21. d.

[q] Act 16. a.

[1] "Great contention in Christes Churche, in all ages, for the maintenance of unprofitable ceremonies."—(*Marg. note, edit.* 1561.)

who so ever was circumcised, Christ coulde nothyng profitt them.[r] Fearing also, lest he had taken paynes amonges them in vayne, which joyned Christ with beggerly ceremonies.[s] Therfore, deare Bretherne, being hereby persuaded, and with many moo reasons confirmed, (which opportunitie permitteth not here to writ) we have contented our selves with that wisdome which we have learned in Godes booke, where we be taught to preache the Woorde of God purely,[t] minister the Sacramentes sincerely, and use prayers and other orders therby approved, to the increase of Godes glorye, and edification of his holye people. As touchinge preaching, for asmuche as it is allowed of all godly men, we may at this tyme leave the probation therof; and also for the ministration of the two sacramentes, our booke geveth sufficient proffe.[1]

r Gal. 5. a. Act. 15. a.
s Gal. 4. b.
t Act. 2 g. Matt. 28, 28.

But because prayers are after two maner of sortes, that is, either in wordes only, or els with songe joyned therunto; and thys latter part, as well for lack of the true use therof, as due consideration of the same, is called by many into doubt, whether it may be used in a reformed church; it is expedient that we note briefly a fewe thinges perteyning therunto. S. Paul geving a rule how men shulde singe, first saith, "I will singe in voice, and I will sing with understanding."[u] And in an other place, shewing what songes shulde be songe, exhorteth the Ephesians to "edifie one an other with psalmes, songes of praise, and such as are spirituall, singinge in their heartes to the Lord with thankes geving."[x] As if the Holy Ghoste wolde saye, that the songe did inflame the heart to call upon God, and praise him with a more fervent and lyvely zeale. And as musike or singinge is naturall unto us,[2] and therfore every man deliteth therein;[3] so our mercifull God setteth before our eyes,

u 1 Cor. 14. c.
x Ephes. 5 d. Jam. 5. c.

[1] In the Latin version, "Atque etiam Sacramenta ipsa, cum in libelli hujus progressione satis amplam probationem habeant, haud usque adeo opus esse videtur hoc in loco diligentius retractare."

[2] "Singing naturall."—(*Marg. note, edit.* 1561.)

[3] In the Latin version, "Utque natura omnibus est ingenitum concentus ac harmoniæ desiderium et appetitus, qui mirabiles sui amores in

how we may rejoyce and singe to the glorie of his name, recreation of our spirites, and profit of our selves.

But as ther is no gift of God so precious or excellent, that Satan hath not after a sort drawen to himself and corrupt, so hath he most impudentlye abused this notable gifte of singinge, chieflye by the Papistes[1] his ministers, in disfiguring it, partly by strange language, that can not edifie, and partly by a curious wanton sort, hyringe men to tickle the eares and flatter the phantasies, not esteminge it as a gifte approved by the Worde of God, profitable for the Churche, and confirmed by all Antiquitie. As, besides other places, is most manifest by the wordes of Plinius,[y] called the younger, who, when he was depute in Asia unto the Emperour Trajan, and had receyved charge to enquire out the Christians to put them to deathe, writ emongs other thinges, touchinge the Christians, "That their maners were to singe verses or psalmes early in the morninge to Christ their God."[2] Yf any, paradventure, wolde doute, when, or by whom these churches or assembles were institute, it is likewise evident, that S. John the Apostle,[z] who, althogh in Domitian's tyme he was banished in the Ile Pathmos; yet when Nerva his successor, and next before Trajan raigned, retourned to Ephesus, and so planted the churches, as the stories[3] report. Seinge therfore God's Woorde dothe approve it, antiquitie beareth witenes therof, and best reformed Churches have receyved the same, no man can reprove it, except he will contemne God's Worde, despice Antiquitie, and utterlie condemne the godlie reformed Churches.

y Epist. lib. 10.

z Eccle. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 22.

And there are no songes more meete then the Psalmes of the Prophet David, which the Holy Ghoste hath framed to the same use,[4] and commended to the Churche, as conteininge the effect of the whole Scriptures, that hereby our heartes might

hominum animis excitat; ita Deus optimus ac clementissimus Pater," &c.

[1] "Singing abused by the Papistes." —(*Ib.*)

[2] "Singing used in the Primative Churche, even in the Apostles time." —(*Marg. note, edit.* 1561.)

[3] In the edit. 1561, "histories."

[4] "What songs we ought to delite in and use."—(*Ib.*)

be more lyvelie touched, as appereth by Moses, Ezechias, Judith, Debora, Marie, Zacharie, and others,[a] who by songes and metre, rather then in their commune speache and prose, gave thankes to God for suche comfort as he sent them.

a Exo. 15. a. Esa. 38. c. Jud. 16. a. Jug. 5. a. Luk. 1. f. Luk. 1. c.

Here it were to longe to intreate of the metre; but for asmuche as the learned doubt not therof, and it is playnly proven that the Psalmes are not only metre, and conteyne juste Cesures, but also have grace and majestie in the verse more then any other places of the Scriptures, we nede not to enter into any probation. For they that are skilfull in the Hebrewe tounge,[b] by comparinge the Psalmes with the reste of the Scriptures, easelie may perceyve the metre. And to whome is it not knowen, how the Holy Ghoste by all means soght to helpe our memorie, when he facioned many Psalmes accordinge to the letters of the alphabet; so that every verse beginneth with the lettres therof in ordre. Sometimes A. beginneth the halfe verse, and B. the other halfe; and in an other place, thre verses, yea and eight verses with one letter, even the Psalme throughout; as if all men shulde be inflamed with the love therof, bothe for varietie of matter, and also briefenes, easines, and delectation.

b Reade Moses Chabib, in his bookes called, מרפא לשון דרכי ניעם

Nowe, to make you privie also why we altered the ryme in certeyne places of hym,[2] whome for the gyftes that God had

[1] Instead of the words in the Hebrew title, as above, the edit. 1561 has, "Reade Moses Chabib, in his bookes called, 'Psalmes in metre in the Ebrue tonge.'"

[2] Thomas Sternholde, who was Groom of the Robes to Edward the Sixth, and who died in 1549. There had been at least four separate editions of the Psalms prior to this of 1556, which has a separate title-page as follows: "One and Fiftie Psalmes of David in Englishe metre, whereof 37 were made by Thomas Sternholde: and the rest by others. Conferred with the Hebrewe, and in certeyn places corrected as the text and sens of the Prophete required." Pp. 159. Besides these 37, there are 7 with the initials of Hopkins, "I. H.," viz. the 30, 33, 42, 52, 79, 82, and 146. The others, the 23, 51, 114, 115, 130, 133, 137, and the Commandments, are anonymous, but were translated by Whittingham, as appears from the subsequent and enlarged edition of "Four score and seven Psalmes of David," dated M.D.LXj.; and of the later impressions of the entire Psalter.

gevyn him, we estemed and reverenced, thys may suffice: that in this entreprise, we did onely set God before our eyes, and therfore wayed the wordes and sense of the Prophete, rather consideringe the meanyng therof then what any man had wrytt.[1] And chiefly beinge in this place, where as moste perfite and godly judgement dyd assure us, and exhortations to the same encorage us, we thoght it better to frame the ryme to the Hebrewe sense, then to bynde that sense to the Englishe meter: and so either altered for the better, in such places as he had not attayned unto, or els where he had escaped parte of the verse, or some tymes the whole, we added the same, not as men desyrous to finde fautes, but onely as suche which covvete to hyde theym, as the learned can judge.[2]

It remayneth last of all that you understande the reasons which movede us to chuse owte and followe this Catechisme of Geneva rather then any other;[3] for consyderinge that the true use of a Catechisme is to instruct a Christian fully in all pointes of belief and Christian religion; and wherein this is most easely, orderly, and perfitely taught, that to be the best; we coulde fynde none in so great a nombre which either for the facilitie is equall, or els for the perfection to be compared. Moreover, the daungers which hang over Christes Church in these dais moved us verie muche; for as men may see present signes of certaine barbarousnes, and puddells of errors whiche are lyke to chaunce in[4] the Churche of God, so there is no better preservation against the same, then if all godly Churches wolde agree in one kinde of doctrine and confession of faith, which in all points were agreable to God's holy Worde, that our posteritie might be confirmed, [c] by the universall example of Christes Churche against all heresies, persecutions, and other daungers; c Psal. 89. a.

[1] In edit. 1561, "written."

[2] The whole of this paragraph, relating to the English metrical version of 51 Psalms subjoined to the edition 1556, is omitted, as inapplicable, in the "Ratio et Forma" of that date.

[3] "The cause for the whiche this Catechisme is to be preferred to others."—(*Marg. note, edit.* 1561.)

The Catechism referred to is that of Calvin. See *supra*, page 121.

[4] In the edit. 1561, "into."

percevinge that it is not onely the doctrine of one man, but the consent of the whole Christian Church, and that wherein all yowthe hathe bene broght up and trayned in. The which thinge, seinge none hath so farre performed, nor yet is in such towardnes to the same as this Catechisme is,[1] being for the worthines therof already translated into Hebrue, Greeke, Latin, Frenche, Italian, Spaynishe, Dutch,[2] and Englishe, we cowld do no lesse but willingly and gladly embrase the same.

Wherfore we beinge nowe under the same crosse of affliction that you our deare Brethern are, and yet altogether the children of God our mercifull Father through Jesus Christ, desire you, in his name, with judgement to reade our doings,[3] tryinge theym onely by the towchestone of his Worde, that either if they be founde fawtie, they may be rejected, or els if they be profitable, God may be glorifyed, his Churche edifyed, and the malicious confounded. Farewel, deare Bretherne, and let us all pray to our lovinge God, that he wold be mercifull unto us, restore his holy Woorde, comfort and strengthen his children, and finally confounde Satan, Antichrist, and all his enymies. At Geneva, the 10. of February, Anno 1556.[4]

[1] "It is translated allmost into all languages."—(*Marg. note, edit.* 1561.)

[2] Meaning the High Dutch, or German; the Latin version uses the word *Germanice.*

[3] "Judge oure doings by the Worde of God."—(*Marg. note, edit.* 1561.)

[4] In the edit. 1561, the date "Anno 1556," is omitted. The Latin version has, "Genevæ, Id. Februarii, Anno millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo sexto."

THE CONFESSION OF OUR FAITH, WHICH ARE ASSEMBLED IN THE ENGLISHE CONGREGATION AT GENEVA.[1]

I BELIEVE IN GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY, MAKER OF HEAVEN AND EARTH;

I BELEVE[2] and confesse[a] my Lorde God eternal, infinite, unmeasurable, incomprehensible, and invisible,[b] one in substance,[c] and three in persone,[d] Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghoste, who, by his almightie power and wisdome,[e] hathe not onely of nothinge created heaven, earthe, and all thinges therein conteyned,[f] and man after his owne image,[g] that he might in hym be glorifiede;[h] but also by his fatherlye providence,[i] governeth, maynteyneth, and preserveth the same, accordinge to the purpose of his will.[k]

AND IN JESUS CHRISTE HIS ONELY SONNE, OUR LORD;

I BELEVE also and confesse Jesus Christe the onely Saviour and Messias,[a] who beinge equall with God,[b] made him self of no reputation, but tooke on him the shape of a servant, and became man in all thinges like unto us[c] (synne except) to assure us of mercie and forgivenes.[d] For when through our father Adam's transgression we were become childrene of perdition,[e] there was no meanes to bring us from that yoke of synne and damnation, but onely Jesus Christe our Lord:[f] who givinge us that by grace, which was his by nature,[g] made us (through faith) the childrene of God:[h] who when the fulnes of tyme was come,[i] was

a Rom. 10. b.
b Gen. 17. b. Psal 63. a. 139. a.
c Gen. 1. a. Ephe. 4. a.
d Gen. 1. d. 1 Jo. 3. b. Matt. 3. d. 28. d.
e Heb. 1. a. Prover. 8. c.
f Gen. 1. a. Jere. 32. b. Psal. 33 c.
g Gen. 1. d. Ephe. 4. c. Col. 3. b.
h 1 Cor. 6, d. John 17. a. Prover. 16. a.
i Matt. 6. d. Luc. 12. c. 1 Peter 5. c. Philip. 4. a.
k Ephe. 1. b.
a Matt. 1. d. Act. 4. b. 1 Tim. 1. d.
b Joh. 1. c. Philip. 2. a. 1 Tim. 3. d. 1 Joh. 5. d. Rom. 9. b.
c Hebr. 2. d. Philip. 2. b. 1 Peter 2. d. 1 Joh. 3. a.
d Rom. 8. f. g. 1 Joh. 2. a.
e Gen. 3. a. Rom. 5. d. Ephe. 1. a. Gal. 3. b.
f Act. 4. b. 1 Peter 2 a. Isaie 28. d. Rom. 9. g.
g Joh. 1. b. Hebr. 1. c. Rom. 1. a. Psal. 2. c.
h Gal. 3. d. Rom. 8. c. Joh. 1. d. Ephe. 1. a.
i Gal. 4. a. Act. 2. c.

[1] The title in the Latin version is simply CONFESSIO CHRISTIANÆ FIDEI. The Scriptural references in the margin are given, but not the Creed.

[2] In the Edinburgh edition of 1562, the whole of the marginal Scripture references to this Confession are omitted.

k Isai. 7. c. Luk. 1. d. Rom. 1. a.

l Act. 10. f. Rom. 1. a.

m Joh. 7. e. 11. f. g. 12. c. Matt. 12. b. 27. b. Luk. 23. e. Isa. 53. c.

n Gal. 3. b.

WHICH WAS CONCEYVED BY THE HOLIE GHOST, BORNE OF THE VIRGINE MARIE, SUFFERED UNDER PONTIUS PILATE, WAS CRUCIFIEDE, DEADE, AND BURIED;

conceyved by the power of the Holy Ghoste,[k] borne of the Virgine Marie (accordinge to the fleshe), and preached in earthe the gospell of salvation,[l] tyll at lenght, by tyrannye of the priestes,[m] he was gilteles condemned under Pontius Pilate, then president of Jurie, and most slaunderously hanged on the crosse betwixte two theves as a notorious trespasser, where takinge upon hym the punishement of our synnes,[n] he delyvered us frome the curse of the Lawe.

And forasmoche as he, beinge onely God, could not feele deathe, nether, beinge onely man, could overcome deathe, he joined bothe together, and suffred his humanitie to be punished with moste cruell death: felinge in him selfe the anger and severe judgement of God, even as if he had bene in the extreme tormentes of hell,[o] and therfore cryed with a lowde voice, "My God, my God, why haste thou forsaken me?"[p] Thus of his fre mercie,[q] without compulsion, he offred up him selfe as the onely sacrifice to purge the synnes of all the world, so that all other sacrifices for synne are blasphemous and derogate frome the sufficiencie herof. The which death, albeit it did sufficiently reconcile us to God;[r] yet the Scriptures commonly do attribute our regeneration to hys resurrection;[s] for as by rysinge agayn frome the grave the third day,[t] he conquered death:[u] evenso the victorie of our faith standeth in his resurrection, and therfore without the one, we can not fele the benefite of the other: For as by deathe, synne was taken awaye,[x] so our rightuousnes was restored by his resurrection.

o Act. 2. d. 1 Peter 2 d. Isai. 53. c.

p Psal. 22. a. Matt. 27. c.

q Isa. 53. a. Hebr. 9. c. 10. c. Gal. 1. a. Rom. 4. d. 5. b. 1 Joh. 1. b.

r Col. 1. c.

s Rom. 10. b. 1 Peter 1. a.

t Matt. 28. b. Act. 10. f. 1 Cor. 15. c.

u Ose. 11. d. 1 Cor. 15. g. 2 Cor. 13. b.

x Rom. 4. d.

HE DISCENDED INTO HELL;

THE THIRD DAIE HE ROSE AGAINE FROME DEATHE;

And because he wolde accomplishe all thinges,[y] and take possession for us in his kingdome, he ascended into heaven,[z] to enlarge that same kingdome by the aboundant power of his Spirite,[a] by whome we are moste assured of his contynuall intercession towardes God the Father for us.[b] And althoghe he be in heaven,[c] as towchinge his corporall pre-

y Ephe. 4. b. Joh. 14. Ephe. 2. b.

z Mar. 16. d. Luk. 24. g. Act. 1. b. 1 Cor. 15. b.

a Luk. 24 g. Joh. 14. b. Act. 2. a.

b Rom. 8. g. Heb. 9. f. 1 Joh. 2. c.

c Act. 1. c. 3. c.

HE ASCENDED INTO HEAVEN;

sence, where the Father hathe nowe set him on his right hand,[d] committinge unto him the administration of all things,[e] aswel in heaven above as in the earthe benethe; yet is he present with us his membres,[f] even to the ende of the world, in preservinge and governynge us with his effectuall power and grace, who (when all thinges are fulfilled which God hath spoken by the mowth of all hys prophets since the world began[g]) wyll come in the same visible forme in the which he ascended,[h] with an unspekable majestie, power, and companye, to separate the lambes frome the goates, th'electe from the reprobate,[i] so that none, whether he be alyve then or deade before, shall escape his judgement.[k]

AND SYTTETH AT THE RIGHT HAND OF GOD THE FATHER ALMYGHTIE,

FROME THENCE SHALL HE COME TO JUDGE THE QUICKE AND THE DEAD.

d Col. 3. a. Rom. 8. g. Heb. 1. a. 10. 12.
e Ephe. 1. d. Philip. 2. b. Col. 2. c.
f Matt. 28. d.
g Act. 3. c.
h Act. 1. b.
i Matt. 25. c. Philip. 3. d.
k Matt. 24. c. Act. 10 f. 1 Cor. 15. c. 1 Thes. 4. 2 Thes. 1. 2 Tim. 4. 2.

I BELIEVE IN THE HOLIE GHOSTE;

MOREOVER, I beleve and confesse the Holy Ghoste, God equall with the Father and the Sonne,[a] whoe regenerateth and sanctifieth us, ruleth and guideth us into all trueth, persuadinge moste assuredly in our consciences that we be the childrene of God,[b] bretherne to Jesus Christe, and fellowe heires with him of lyfe everlastinge. Yet notwithstandinge it is not sufficient to beleve that God is omnipotent and mercifull; that Christ hath made satisfaction; or, that the Holye Ghoste hath this power and effect, except we do applie the same benefites to our selves[c] which are God's elect.[d]

a Matt. 3. d. 1 Joh. 5. c. 1 Pet. 1 b. 1 Cor. 6. Joh. 16. d. Act. 17.
b Rom. 8. c. Gal. 4. a.
c Abac. 2. a. Rom. 1. b. 10. c. 1 Joh. 3. d.
d Joh. 17. a.

THE HOLIE CATHOLIKE CHURCHE; THE COMMUNION OF SAINCTES,

I BELEVE therfore and confesse one holye Churche,[e] which (as members of Jesus Christe,[f] th'onely heade therof[g]) consent in faithe, hope, and charitie,[h] usinge the giftes of God, whether they be temporall or spirituall,[i] to the profite and furtherance of the same. Whiche Churche is not sene to man's eye, but onely knowen to God,[k] who of the loste sonnes of Adam, hath ordeyned some, as vessels of wrathe, to damnation, and hathe chosen others, as vessels of his mercie, to be saved;[l] the

e Matt. 16. c. Joh. 10 a.
f Ephe. 5. b. Rom. 8. Can 2.
g Ephe. 1. d. Col. 1. d. 1 Cor. 12. c.
h Ephe. 4. d.
i Ephe. 4. a. Philip. 3. d. Col. 2. a.
k Act. 2. g. 4 g. Rom. 12. c. 1 Cor. 12. b. Ephe. 4. c.
l Rom. 3. a. Rom 9. c. Eph. 1. a. b.

whiche also, in due tyme, he callethe to integritie of lyfe and godly conversation, to make them a glorious church to him selfe.[m]

m Rom. 8. Eph. 5. c.

But that Churche which is visible, and sene to the eye,[n] hathe three tokens, or markes, wherby it may be discerned. First, the Worde of God conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament,[o] which as it is above the autoritie of the same churche,[p] and onely sufficient to instruct us in all thinges concernynge salvation,[q] so is it left for all degrees of men to reade and understand.[r] For without this Worde, neither churche, concile, or decree can establishe any point touching salvation.[s]

n Matt. 16. c. 1 Cor. 15. b.

o Matt. 23. d. Rom. 10. c. 2 Cor. 3. 4. Ephe. 2. d. Joh. 10. a. 2 Tim. 3. d. 2 Peter 1. d.
p Ephe. 2. d. Matt. 17. c. Joh. 10. a. b.
q Joh. 20. g. 2 Tim. 3. d.
r Jos. 1. b. Joh. 5. c.
s Ephe. 5. c. Matt. 15. b.

The second is the holy Sacrements,[t] to witt, of Baptisme and the Lordes Supper; which Sacramentes Christ hathe left unto us as holie signes and seales of God's promesses. For as by Baptisme once receyved, is signified that we (aswel infants as others of age and discretion) being straungers from God by originall synne,[u] are receyved into his familie and congregation, with full assurance, that althoghe this roote of synne lye hyd in us, yet to the electe it shal not be imputed.[x] So the Supper declareth, that God, as a most provident Father,[y] doth not onely fede our bodies, but also spiritually nourisheth our soules with the graces and benefites of Jesus Christ[z] (which the Scripture calleth eatinge of his flesh and drinkinge of his bloode); nether must we, in the administration of these sacraments, followe man's phantasie, but as Christ him self hath ordeyned so must they be ministred, and by suche as by ordinarie vocation are therunto called.[a] Therfor, whosoever reserveth and worshippeth these sacraments, or contrariwyse contemneth them in tyme and place, procureth to him self damnation.

t Matt. 26. c. 28. f. Rom. 4. a. Ephe. 5. f.

u Rom. 5. b. Ephe. 2. a. Tit. 3. b. Gal. 3. c. Rom. 7. d.
x Rom. 4. a. Psal. 31. a.
y 1 Cor. 11. c.
z Joh. 6. d.
a Heb. 5. b. Joh. 3. d.

The third marke of this Church is Ecclesiasticall discipline,[b] which standeth in admonition and correction of fautes. The finall ende wherof is excommunication, by the consent of the Churche determyned,[c] if the offender be obstinate. And

b Matt. 18 b. Luk. 17. a. Levi. 19. d. Eccles. 19. b.
c 1 Cor. 5. a.

besides this Ecclesiasticall censure, I acknowlage to belonge to this church a politicall Magistrate,[d] who ministreth to every man justice, defending the good and punishinge the evell; to whom we must rendre honor and obedience in all thinges, which are not contrarie to the Word of God.[e]

d Rom. 13. a. Wisdome 6. a. Tit. 3. a. 1 Peter 2. c.

e Act. 5. c.

And as Moses, Ezechias, Josias, and other godly rulers purged the Church of God frome superstition and idolatrie,[f] so the defence of Christes Church apperteynith to the Christian Magistrates, against all idolaters and heretikes, as Papistes, Anabaptistes, with such like limmes of Antechrist, to roote owte all doctrine of devels and men,[g] as the Masse, Purgatorie, *Limbus Patrum*, prayer to Sanctes, and for the Deade; freewyll, distinction of meates, apparell, and days; vows of single life, presence at idoll service, man's merites, with suchlike, which drawe us frome the societie of Christes Churche, wherein standeth onely remission of synnes,[h] purchased by Christes bloode to all them that beleve, whether they be Jewes or Gentiles, and leade us to vayne confidence in creatures, and trust in our owne imaginations. The punishement wherof, althogh God often tymes differreth in this lyfe,[i] yet after the generall resurrection,[k] when our sowles and bodies shall ryse agayne to immortalitie, they shalbe damned to inquencheable fyer;[l] and then we which have forsaken all man's wisdome to cleave unto Christ, shall heare that joyfull voice, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherite ye the kingdome prepared for you frome the beginnyng of the world,"[m] and so shall go triumphing with him in bodye and soule,[n] to remayne everlasting in glorie, where we shall see God face to face,[o] and shall no more nede one to instructe an other; for we shall all knowe him, from the hyghest to the loweste: To whome, withe the Sonne and the Holy Ghost, be all praise, honor, and glorie, nowe and ever. So be it.[1]

f Exo. 32. f. 2 Kynge 18. 23 2 Chro. 29. 35.

g 2 Tim. 4. a. Col. 2. d. Matt. 15. b. Isa. 29. b. Heb. 9. c. 10. c. Act. 10. g. 1 Joh 2. a. Rom. 7. c. Gal. 5. c. Col. 2. c. Rom. 14. a. 1 Tim. 4. a. Matt. 19. b. 1 Cor. 7. b. 1 Cor. 8. c. 10. f. 2 Cor. 6. c. Luc. 17. c. Rom. 8. c. 1 Cor. 3. c. Gal. 4. b.

THE FORGIVENES OF SYNNES,

h Isa. 33. d. Matt. 18. c. Joh. 20. c. 2 Cor. 5. d. Rom. 1. b. 10. b. Ephe. 2. d.

THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODIE,

i 2 Peter 2. a. Jude 1. Rom. 9.

k Act. 24. d. 1 Cor. 15. c. Philip. 3. d. 1 Thes. 4. d.

l 2 Thes. 4. d. 2 Joh. 1. c. Isa. 30. g. Joh. 5. c.

m Matt. 25. d.

AND LYFE EVERLASTYNGE.

n 2 The. 4. d. 5. d. Joh. 5. e. Isa. 26. d.

o 1 Cor. 13. d. 1 Joh. 3. a. Jere. 31. f. Hebr. 8. c.

[1] In the Latin version, there follows the Confession of Sins, and Prayers, which occur in the English copy, *infra*, p. 179.

Of the Ministers and their Election.

What thinges are chiefely required in the Pastours and[1] *Ministers.*

First, let the Churche diligently consider that the Minister which is to be chosen[a] be not founde culpable of any suche fautes which Saincte Paul reprehendeth in a man of that vocation,[b] but contrarywise endewed with suche vertues, that he may be able to undertake his charge, and diligently execute the same. Secondly, that he distribute faithfully the Word of God, and minister the sacraments sincerely,[c] ever carefull not onely to teache his flock publikly, but also privatly to admonisshe them;[d] remembring alwais, that if any thinge perysshe throughe his defaute, the Lorde will require it at his handes.[e]

a Act. 1. d. & 13. a. 14. f.
b 1 Timo. 3. a. 2 Tim. 2. b. 4. a. Eze. 33. a. Jere. 3. d. Joh. 21. c. Isa. 62. c. 1 Cor. 9. d.
c 2 Tim. 2. c. 3 Peter 4 e. Matt. 26. c. 28. d. 1 Cor. 1 e.
d Act. 20. d. 2 Tim. 4. a.
e Eze. 3. d. 2. 1 Cor. 9. c.

Of their Office and Deutie.

Becawse the charge of the Word of God is of greater importaunce then that any man is able to dispence therwith;[a] and Saincte Paule exhorteth to esteme them as ministers of Christe, and disposers of God's mysteries;[b] not lordes or rulers, as S. Peter saith, over the flocke.[c] Therfore the pastor's or minister's chief office standeth in preaching the Worde of God, and ministring the sacraments.[d] So that in consultations, judgementes, elections, and other politicall affairs, his counsel,[e] rather then autoritie, taketh place.

And if so be the Congregation, uppon juste cawse, agreeth to excommunicate, then it belongeth to the minister, according to their general determination, to pronounce the sentence,[f] to the end that all thinges may be done orderly, and withoute confusion.[g]

a 1 Cor. 9. c. Act. 6. a. Luk. 12. c.
b 1 Cor. 4. a. 2 Cor. 4. b.
c 1 Peter 5. a. 2 Cor. 1. d. Matt. 20. d.
d Matt. 26. c. 28. d. Mala. 2. a. 1 Peter 4. c. Act. 3. c. & 16. f. 1 Cor 1. d. 15. a.
e Act. 20. e. f. 2 Cor. 4. b.
f 1 Cor. 5. b.
g 1 Cor. 14. g

[1] In the editions 1561 and 1562, the words "Pastours and," are omitted.

The Manner of Electinge the Pastors and Ministers.

THE Ministers and Elders at suche time as there wanteth a Minister, assemble the whole Congregation,[a] exhortinge them to advise and consider who may best serve in that rowme and office. And if there be choyse, the Churche appoynte two or thre, upon sume certayne day, to be examined by the Ministers and Elders.

a Act. 14. d. Tit. 1. b. Act. 1. d.

First, as towchyng their doctrine,[b] whether he that should be minister have good and sownde knowlage in the Holy Scriptures, and fitte and apte giftes to communicate the same to the edification of the people. For the triall wherof, they propose hym a theme or text to be treated privatly, wherby his habilitie may the more manifestlie appeare unto them.

b 1 Tim. 3. a. Tit. 1. b.

Secondly, they enquire of his life and conversation, if he have in times past lyved without slander,, and governed hym selfe in suche sorte, as the Worde of God hath not hearde evel, or bene slandered through his occasion.[c] Which being severallie done, they signifie unto the Congregation, whose giftes they fynde moste excellent and profitable for that ministerie. Appoynting by a generall consent, eight daies at the leaste, that every man may diligently inquire of his life and manners.

c Rom. 2. d. Jam. 1. d. 1 Sam. 2 c. Tim. 5. d.

At the which tyme also, the minister exhorteth them to humble them selves to God by fasting and prayer,[d] that bothe their election may be agreable to his will, and also profitable to the Churche. And if in the meane season any thyng be brought agaynst hym wherby he may be fownde unworthy by lawfull probations, then is he dismissed and some other presented. If nothing be alleaged uppon some certayne day, one of the ministers, at the mornyng sermon, presenteth hym agayne to the Churche, framyng his sermon, or some parte therof, to the settyng forthe of his dewtie.

d Act. 13. a. & 14. d. Luc. 2 c.

Then at after none, the sermon ended, the minister exhortith them to the election, with the invocation of God's name,[e] directing his prayer as God shal move his herte. In like manner,

e 1 Cor. 10. g. Col. 3. c. Matt. 9. d.

f 1 Thes. 5. c. Col. 4. a. Ephe. 5. d. Philip. 1. c.

after the election, the Minister geveth thankes to God,[f] with request of suche thinges as shalbe necessarie for his office.

After that he is appointed Minister, the people syng a psalme and departe.

Of the Elders, and as touchyng their Office and Election.

a Nom. 11. c. Act. 14. d. 16. a. 20. d. Rom. 12. b. Ephe. 4. c. 1 Cor. 12. d. Jam. 5. c. 1. Peter 5. a.

The Elders must be men of good lyfe and godly conversation,[a] withoute blame and all suspition; carefull for the flocke, wise, and, above all thynges, fearing God. Whose office standeth in gouverning with the rest of the ministers, in consulting, admonisshing, correcting, and ordering all thynges appertayning to the state of the congregation. And they differ from the ministers, in that they preache not the Worde, nor minister the Sacramentes. In assemblyng the people, nether they withoute the ministers, nor the ministers withoute them, may attempt any thing. And if any of the juste nombre want, the minister, by the consent of the rest, warneth the people thereof, and finalye admonissheth them to observe the same ordre which was used in chosing the Ministers.[1]

Of the Deacons, and their Office and Election.

a Act. 6. a. 1 Tim. 3. b.

The Deacons must be men of good estimation and report,[a] discret, of good conscience; charitable, wyse, and finallye adorned with suche vertues as S. Paul requireth in them. Their office is to gather the aulmes diligentlie, and faithfullie to distribute it,[b] with the consent of the Ministers and Elders. Also to provyde for the sicke and impotent personnes. Having ever a diligent care, that the charitie of godlye men be not wasted upon loytrers and ydle vagabondes.[c] Their election is, as hath bene afore rehearsed in the Ministers and Elders.

b Rom. 12. b.

c 2 Thes. 3. b.

[1] In the edit. 1562 is added, "as farre forthe as their vocation requireth."

We are not ignorante that the Scriptures make mention of a fourthe kynde of Ministers left to the Churche of Christe, which also are very profitable, where tyme and place dothe permit. But for lacke of opportunitie, in this oure dispersion and exile,[1] we can not well have the use therof; and wolde to God it were not neglected where better occasion serveth.

These Ministers are called Teachers or Doctors,[a] whose office is to instructe and teache the faithfull in sownde doctrine, providing with all diligence that the puritie of the Gospell be not corrupt, either through ignorance, or evill opinions. Notwithstandyng, considering the present state of thynges, we comprehend under this title suche meanes as God hathe in his Churche, that it shuld not be left desolate, nor yet his doctrine decaye for defaut of ministers therof.

a Ephe. 4. c. 1 Cor. 12. d.

Therfore to terme it by a worde more usuall in these our days, we may call it th'Order of Schooles, wherin the highest degree, and moste annexed to the ministerie and governement of the Churche, is the exposition of Godes Worde, which is contayned in the Olde and Newe Testamentes.

But becawse menne cannot so well proffet in that knowledge, except they be first instructed in the tonges and humaine sciences, (for now God worketh not commonlie by miracles,) it is necessarie that seed be sowen for the tyme to come, to the intent that the Churche be not left barren and waste to our posteritie; and that Scholes also be erected, and Colledges mayntayned, with juste and sufficient stipendes, wherin youthe may be trayned in the knowledge and feare of God, that in their ripe age they may prove worthy members of our Lorde Jesus Christ, whether it be to rule in Civill policie, or to serve in the Spirituall ministerie, or els to lyve in godly reverence and subjection.

THE WEEKLY ASSEMBLIE OF THE MINISTERS, [ELDERS, AND DEACONS.][2]

To the intent that the ministerie of Godes Woorde may be had in reverence, and not brought to contempt through the evill conversation of suche as are called therunto,[a] and also that fautes and vices may not by long sufferance growe at length to extreme inconveniences;[b] it is ordeyned that every Thurs-

a Roma. 2. d. Ezech. 36. e. Isa. 62. b.

b 2 Timo. 2. a.

[1] This sentence, as being inapplicable, was omitted in the edition of 1562, and all the subsequent editions.

[2] The words within brackets are supplied from the editions 1561 and 1562.

daye the ministers and elders, in their assemblie or Consistorie, diligentlie examine all suche fautes and suspicions as may be espied,[c] not onelie amongest others, but chieflie amongest[1] theym selves, lest they seme to be culpable of that which our Saviour Christ reproved in the Pharisies,[d] who coulde espie a mote in an other man's eye, and could not see a beame in their owne.

c 1 Cor. 3. b.

d Math. 7. a. Luk. 6. f. Rom. 2. c.

And becawse the eye ought to be more cleare then the rest of the bodie,[e] the minister may not be spotted with any vice, but to the great slaunder of Godes Woorde, whose message he beareth: Therfore it is to be understand that there be certayne fautes, which if they be deprehended in a minister, he oght to be deposed; as heresie, papistrie, schisme, blasphemie, perjurie, fornication, thefte, dronkennes, usurie, fighting, unlawfull games, with suche like.

e Math. 6. c. Luk. 11. e.

Others are more tollerable, if so be that after brotherlie admonition he amendith his faut: as strange and unprofitable fashon[2] in preaching the Scriptures; curiositie in sekyng vayne questions; negligence, aswell in his sermons, and in studying the Scriptures, as in all other thynges concerning his vocation; scurrilitie, flattering, lying, backbyting, wanton woordes, deceipt, covetousnes, tauntyng, dissolution in apparell, gesture, and other his doynges; which vices, as they be odious in all men, so in hym that ought to be as an example to others of perfection,[f] in no wise are to be suffred; especially, if so be that, according to Godes rule, being brotherlie advertised,[g] he acknowledge not his faut and amend.

f Matt. 5. b. Mar. 9. g.

g Matt. 18. b. Luk. 17. a. Jam. 5. d.

Interpretation of the Scriptures.

Everie weeke once, the Congregation assemble to heare some place of the Scriptures orderly expounded.[a] At which tyme,

a 1 Cor. 14. a. 1 Thes. 5. d. Ephe. 4. b. 1 Cor. 12. d.

[1] In the edit. 1556, here and elsewhere, "emongest."

[2] In the edit. 1561 and 1562, "facion."

it is lawfull for every man to speake or enquire, as God shall move his harte, and the text minister occasion; so it be without pertinacitee or disdayne, as one that rather seketh to proffit then to contend. And if so be any contencion rise, then suche as are appointed moderatours, either satisfie the partie, or els if he seme to cavill, exhorte hym to kepe silence, referring the judgement therof to the ministers and elders, to be determined in their assemblie or Consistorie before mencioned.

When the Congregation is assembled at the houre appointed, the Minister useth one of these two Confessions, or lyke in effect,[1] exhorting the people diligently to examine them selves, following in their hartes the tenor of his wordes.[2]

A Confession of our Synnes, framed to our tyme, out of the 9. Chapter of Daniel.

O Lord God, which arte mightie and dreadeful,[a] thou that kepest covenant, and shewest mercie to theym that love thee and do thy commaundementes.[b] We have synned, we have offended,[c] we have wickedly and stubburnely gone backe frome thy lawes and preceptes. We wolde never obey thy servantes the Prophetes that spake in thy name,[d] to our kinges and princes, to our forfathers, and to all the people of our lande. O Lord, rightuousnes belongeth unto thee,[e] unto us perteyneth nothing but open shame, as it ys come to passe this day unto our miserable contry of Englande; yea unto all our nations

a Nehem. 1. b. Job 9, 38, 39, 40. Psal. 24, 76, 77, 139.
b Exod. 20. a. Luk. 7. g.
c Gen. 3. b. Rom. 5. b. 1 Joh. 1. d. Psal. 32. c. & 106. a.
d Lev. 26. c. Deu. 28. b. Jere. 26. a. 29. b. Nehem. 1. c.
e Psa. 11. b. Jam. 4. d. Job 4. d. 9. a. 25. b.

[1] In the edit. 1562, "useth this Confession, or like in effect." See note page 181.

[2] In the Latin version 1556, this rubric is, "Quum primum in Ecclesiam hora constituta convenitur, Minister vel hanc ex Daniele confessionem, vel subsequentem, aut aliam saltem in hanc sententiam, clara voce pro concione recitat, singulos inter ea exhortans, ut intenta pectoris cogitatione, his auscultent ac ruminent, quæ ex se sunt audituri." (Then follows the title:) "Confessio quaedam ad Deum pro peccatis condonandis, temporibus accomodata, juxta illam Danielis formam, capite nono descriptam."

whether they be farre or nere, through all landes, wherein they are scattered for the offences that they and we have committed against thee,[f] so that the curses and ponishmentes which are wryten in thy lawe[g] are nowe powred upon us; and thou hast perfourmed those wordes wher with thou didest menace us and our rulers that governed us, in bringinge the same plagues upon us which before were threatened. And yet notwithstandinge, bothe they and we procede in our iniquitie, and sease not to heape synne upon synne. For they which once were well instructed in the doctrine of thy gospel, are nowe gone backe frome the obedience of thy trueth,[1] and are turned agayne to that moste abhominable idolatrie,[h] from the which they were once called by the lyvely preachinge of thy Worde. And we, alas! to this day, do not earnestly repent us of our former wickednes, neither do we rightly consider the heavynes of thy displeasure.[i] Suche is thy juste judgement, O Lord, that thou ponishes synne by synne, and man by his owne inventions,[k] so that there can be no ende of iniquitie, except thou prevent us[l] with thy undeserved grace.[m] Therfore convert us, O Lord, and we shalbe converted;[n] for we do not offer up our prayers trustinge in our owne rightuousnes,[o] but in thy manifolde mercies. And althoghe thou haste once of thy especial grace delivered us from the miserable thraldome of error and blindnes, and called us many tymes to the swet libertie of thy gospell,[p] which we notwithstandinge have moste shamefully abused, in obeinge rather our owne lustes and affections,[q] then the admonitions of thy Prophetes;[r] yet we beseche thee once agayne, for thy nam's sake,[s] to powre some comfortable droppe of thy accustomed mercies upon us; incline thyne eares, and open thyne eyes,[t] to beholde the grevous plagues of our contrie, the continuall sorrowes of our afflicted bretherne, and our wofull banishment.[2] And let our afflictions and juste ponishemente be an admonition and warninge to other nations amongest whome

f Psal. 89. c. Jer. 26. b. 27. a
g Lev. 26. c. Deu. 27, 28, 30.
h 2 Pet. 2. d. Prov. 26. b. Hebr. 6. a. 10. c.
i Psal. 19. d. Deu. 31. d. 29. d. Ezech. 5. b.
k Rom. 1. d.
l Esa. 65. d. Rom. 10. e.
m Eph. 2. a. b.
n Psal. 85. b. Jerem. 31. c.
o Titus 3. a. 2 Timoth. 1. b.
p Gal. 4, 5. a.
q Gal. 5. b. c.
r Zachar. 7. b.
s Psal. 23. a. 25. c.
t Psal. 71. a.

[1] How miserable it is to retorne to the olde vomitt.—(*Marg. note.*)

[2] Let all people take hede by our example.—(*Marg. note.*)

we are skattered, that with all reverence they may obey thy holy gospell; lest for like contempe, in the ende, like or wourse plagues fall upon theym.[u] Wherfore, O Lord, heare us! O Lord, forgive us! O Lord, consider and tary not over longe! but for thy deare Sonne Jesus Christe sake, be mercifull unto us, and delyver us.[x] So shall it be knowen to all the worlde, that thou onely arte the selfe same God, that ever sheweth mercie to all suche as call upon thy holy name.[y]

u Matt. 11. c. 12. d. Luk. 10. c.
x John 16. c.
y Psal. 103, 108. a. & 136. c.

An other Confession for all States and Tymes.[1]

O ETERNALL God and moste mercifull Father, we confesse and acknowlage here, before thy divine majestie, that we are miserable synners,[a] conceyved and borne in synne and iniquitie,[b] so that in us there is no goodnes.[c] For the fleshe evermore rebelleth against the spirite,[d] wherby we contynually transgresse thy holy preceptes and commaundementes, and so purchase to our selves, through thy juste judgement, death and damnation.[e]

a Rom. 3. c. Psal. 14. b.
b Psal. 51. a.
c Rom. 7. d.
d Gal. 5. c.
e Rom. 2 a. Jere. 3. g. Isa. 40. b.

Notwithstandinge, O heavenly Father, forasmoche as we are displeased with our selves for the synnes that we have committed against thee, and do unfeynedly repent us of the same, we moste humbly beseche thee, for Jesus Christes sake, to shewe thy mercie upon us, to forgive us all our synnes, and to increase thy Holy Spirite in us. That we acknowlaginge from the bottome of our hartes our owne unrightousnes,[f] may from hensforth not onely mortifie our sinfull lustes and affections, but also bringe forth suche fruites as may be agreable to thy moste blessed wyll; not for the worthynes therof, but for the merites of thy dearely beloved Sonne Jesus Christe,[g] our onely Savyour, whom thou hast already given an oblation and

f Col. 3. a. Rom. 6. a. Ephe. 4. c. 5. a. 1 Petr. 2. e.
g Rom. 5. a. Hebr. 9. d. Eph. 2. d.

[1] In the edit. 1561, the title is simply "for all Estates." In the edit. 1562, "The Confession of our Sinnes;" the previous Confession (pp. 179–181) being omitted in this place. It occurs, however, in a different part of the volume, but considerably altered.

offeringe for our synnes, and for whose sake we are certainly persuaded that thou wylt denye us nothinge that we shall aske in his name, accordinge to thy wyl.[h] For thy Spirite doth assure our consciences that thou arte our mercifull Father,[i] and so lovest us thy childrene through hym, that nothinge is able to remove thy heavenly grace and favor from us. To thee, therfore, O Father, with the Sonne and the Holy Ghoste, be all honor and glorye, worlde withowt ende. So be it.

h Joh. 14. b. 16. c. Math. 7. b. Jam. 1. a.

i Jo. 3. d. Ro. 8. b. c. g.

This done, the people singe a Psalme all together, in a playne tune; which ended, the Minister[1] prayeth for th'assistance of God's Holy Spirite, as the same shall move his harte, and so procedeth to the Sermon. Usinge after the Sermon this Prayer followinge, or suche lyke.

A Prayer for the Whole Estate[2] of Christes Churche.

Almightie God and moste mercifull Father, we humbly submit our selves,[a] and fall downe before thy Majestie,[b] besechinge thee frome the botome of our hartes, that this seede of thy worde,[c] nowe sowen amongest us, may take suche depe roote, that neither the burninge heate of persecution cause it to wither, nether the thorny cares of this lyfe do choke it, but that as seede sowen in good grownde, it may bringe forth thirtie, sixtie, and an hundreth folde, as thy heavenly wisdome hathe appointed. And becawse we have nede continuallie to crave many thinges at thy handes, we humbly besoche thee, O heavenly Father, to graunt us thy Holy Spirite[d] to directe our peticions, that they may procede frome suche a fervent minde as may be agreable to thy moste blessed wyll.[e]

a 1 Pet. 5. b.
b Nom. 26. a. Deu. 9. c. Josu. 7. b.
c Mat. 13, a. b.
d Luk. 11. b. Rom. 8. c. Jam. 5. d. 1 Joh. 5. c. Rom. 12. c. Wisdome, 9. c.
e 2 Cor. 3. a. Jo. 15. a. Phil. 2. b.

And seinge that our infirmitie is hable to do nothinge without thy helpe, and that thou arte not ignorant with how many

[1] In the Latin version, 1556, "His ita actis, Minister se ad concionem parat," &c., the reference to singing a Psalm, being omitted.

[2] In the editions 1561 and 1562, "State."

and great temptations,[f] we poore wretches are on every side inclosed and compassed, let thy strenghe, O Lord, susteyne our weaknes, that we beinge defended with the force of thy grace, may be savely preserved against all assaultes of Satan, who goeth abowte continually like a roaringe lyon, sekinge to devoure us.[g] Encrease our faith,[h] O mercifull Father, that we do not swarve at any tyme frome thy heavenly worde, but augment in us hope and love, with a carefull kepinge of all thy commaundementes, that no hardnes of harte,[i] no hypocrisie, no concupiscence of the eyes,[k] nor intysementes of the worlde, do drawe us away frome thy obedience. And seinge we lyve nowe in these moste perillous tymes,[l] let thy Fatherly providence defende us against the violence of all our enemies, which do every where pursue us; but chiefely againste the wicked rage and furious uproares of that Romyshe idoll, enemie to thy Christe.[m]

f Psa. 40. c. 1 Pet. 1. a.
g 1 Peter 5. b.
h Luk. 17. a.
i Psal. 95. b. Hebr. 3, 4. c.
k 1 Joh. 2. c.
l 1 Tim. 4. a. 2 Peter 3. a. 2 Tim. 3. a. Jude a, b, c, d.
m 2 Thes. 2. a. 1 Joh. 2. c. Reve. 13. d. 17. d.

Fordermore,[1] forasmoche as by thy holy Apostle we be taught to make our prayers and supplications for all men,[n] we praye not onely for our selves here present, but beseche thee also, to reduce all suche as be yet ignorant, from the miserable captivitie of blindnes and error, to the pure understandinge and knowlage of thy heavenly trueth, that we all, with one consent and unitie of myndes,[o] may wourshippe thee our onely God and Saviour. And that all pastors, shepherds, and ministers, to whome thou hast committed the dispensation of thy holy Woord,[p] and charge of thy chosen people,[q] may both in their lyfe and doctrine be fownde faithfull, settinge onely before their eyes thy glorie; and that by theim, all poore shepe which wander and go astray, may be gathered and broght home to thy foulde.

n 1 Tim. 1. a.
o Rom. 15. b. 1 Cor. 1. b. Eccl. 3. c.
p Joh. 21. d. Matt. 28. d. 1 Cor. 9. c. Mark 16. d.
q 1 Peter 5. a.

Moreover, becawse the hartes of rulers are in thy hands,[r] we beseche thee to direct and governe the hartes of all kinges, princes, and magistrates to whome thou haste committed the sworde;[s] especially, O Lord, accordinge to our bonden dutie,

r Prover. 21. a.
s Rom. 13. b. Joh. 19. b.

[1] In the edit. 1561 and 1562, "Furthermore."

we beseche thee to mainteyne and increase the honorable estate of this citie,[1] into whose defense we are receyved, the magistrates, the counsell, and all the whole bodye of this common weale:[2] Let thy Fatherlye favor so preserve theym, and thy Holy Spirite so governe their hartes, that they may in suche sorte execute their office, that thy religion may be purely mainteyned, manners refourmed, and synne ponished accordinge to the precise rule of thy holy Woord.[t]

t 1 Tim. 1. a. Jam. 1. c.

And for that we be all members of the mysticall body of Christ Jesus,[u] we make our requestes unto thee, O heavenly Father, for all suche as are afflicted with any kinde of crosse or tribulation,[x] as warre, plague, famine, sikenes, povertie, imprisonement, persecution, banishement, or any other kinde of thy roddes, whether it be[3] calamitie of bodie, or vexation of mynde,[y] that it wold please thee to gyve them pacience and constancie, tyll thou send them full deliverance of all their troubles. And[4] as we be bownde to love and honor our parentes, kinsfolkes, friendes, and contrye,[z] so we moste humbly beseche thee to shewe thy pitie upon our miserable contrie of England,[5] which once, through thy mercie, was called to libertie, and now for

u 1 Cor. 12. d. Rom. 12. a.

x Jam. 5. c.

y 2 Cor. 1. b. Heb. 13. a.

z Exo. 20. b.

[1] For the prosperous estate of Geneva.—(*Marg. note.*)

[2] In the Latin version, 1556, "tum potissimum ut amplissimum hujus Urbis in qua fovemur, statum, illius Consules cum reliquo gravissimo Senatu, ac universo Reipublicæ ordine, ita conservet," &c.—In the edit. 1562, this Prayer for the city and magistrates of Geneva is thus altered:—"Especially, O Lord, according to our bounden dutie, we beseche thee to manteine and increase the noble estate of the Quenes Maiestie, and her honorable Counsel, with all the estates and whole body of the Communewealth. Let thy fatherlie favour so preserve her, and thine Holy Spirit so governe her heart, that she may in such sorte execute her office," &c. In the edit. 1561, this Prayer occurs as in the text; but in the additional leaves, when repeated, the words are, "the honourable estate of the Quenes Majesty, and all her most Noble Counsellors, and Magistrates, wyth all the spirituall Pastours and Ministers, and all the whole bodie of this Commounweale."

[3] In the edit. 1562, "whether it be grief of body, or unquietness of minde."

[4] This sentence is wholly omitted in the repetition of this Prayer in 1561, and in the Edinburgh edition of 1562. In the Latin version 1556, we have, "etiam atque etiam te comprecamur (omnium servator Deus) et Angliæ nostræ te miserescat, quæ sub acerbissimo, sed justissimo quidem flagello nunc tuo, laborat afflictissima."

[5] For England.—(*Marg. note.*)

their and our synnes, is broght unto moste vile slavery and Babylonicall bondage.

Roote owte from thence, O Lord, all raveninge wolves,[a] which to fyll their bellies destroie thy flocke.[b] And shewe thy great mercies upon those our bretherne which are persecuted, cast in prison, and dayly condemned to deathe for the testimonie of thy trueth.[c] And thogh they be utterly destitute of all man's ayde,[d] yet let thy swete comfort never departe from them, but so inflame their hartes with thy Holy Spirite, that thei may boldely and chearefully abide suche tryall[e] as thy godly wisdome shall appoint.[f] So that at lenght, aswell by their deathe as by their life,[g] the kingdome of thy deare Sonne Jesus Christ may increase and shyne through all the worlde. In whose name we make our humble peticions unto thee, as he hath taught us.

a Matt. 7. c. Act. 20. f.
b Ezech. 34. a. Rom. 16. c. Philip. 3. d.
c Heb. 13. d. Rom. 8. g. Psal. 43. d.
d Joh. 16. f.
e 1 Pet. 1. b.
f Act. 2. d. Matt. 10. d. Luk. 21. d.
g Rom. 14. b.

OUR Father which arte in heaven, &c.

ALMIGHTIE and ever lyvinge God, vouchsave, we beseche thee, to grant us perfite contynuance in thy lively faith, augmentinge the same in us dayly,[a] tyll we growe to the full measure of our perfection in Christ,[b] wherof we make our confession, sayinge,

a Luk. 17. b.
b Ephes. 4. a.

I BELEVE in God, &c.

Then the people singe a Psalme, which ended, the Minister pronounceth one of these blessinges, and so the Congregation departeth.[1]

THE Lord blesse you and save you;[a] the Lord make his face shyne upon you, and be mercifull unto you; the Lord turne his countenance towardes you, and graunt you his peace.

a Nom. a 6. d.

THE grace of our Lord Jesus Christ,[a] the love of God, and communion of the Holie Ghoste, be with you all. So be it.

a 2 Cor. 13. d

[1] In the Latin version 1556, "Demum post decantatum Psalmum, cum hujusmodi precatiuncula dimittitur coetus."

It shall not be necessarie for the Minister dayly to repete all these thinges before mentioned, but beginnynge with some maner of Confession, to procede to the Sermon; which ended, he either useth the prayer for all Estates before mentioned, or els prayeth, as the Spirite of God shall move his harte, framinge the same accordinge to the tyme and matter which he hath intreated of.[1] And yf there shalbe at any tyme any present plague, famine, pestilence, warre, or such like,[a] which be evident tokens of God's wrath; as it is our parte to acknowlage our synnes to be the occasion therof, so are we appointed by the Scriptures to give our selves to mournynge, fastinge, and prayer, as the meanes to turne awaye God's heavie displeasure. Therfore, it shalbe convenient that the Minister at suche tyme do not onely admonyshe the people therof, but also use some forme of prayer, accordinge as the present necessitie requireth, to the which he may appoint, by a common consent, some severall daye after the sermon, wekely to be observed.[2]

a Lev. 26. d. Deu. 28. b. 3 Kyngs 8. d. 2 Kyngs 24. c.

The Order of Baptisme.

First note, that for asmoche as it is not permitted by God's Woord, that Women should preache or minister the Sacraments:[a] And it is evident, that the Sacraments are not ordeined of God to be used in privat corners as charmes or sorceries,[3] but left to the Congregation, and necessarely annexed to God's Woord as seales of the same:[4] Therfore the infant which is to be baptised, shalbe broght to the churche, on the day appointed to

a 1 Cor. 14. f. 1 Tim. 2. d. Matt. 28 d

[1] In the Latin version 1556: "Quam ubi absolverit, precatione, vel eadem hac quæ præcedit, vel alia quacunque propria, pro instinctu animi sui, uti licebit: quæ nec ab argumento concionis suæ, nec a temporis præsente opportunitate, admodum digrediatur."

[2] In the Edinburgh edition of 1562, certain Prayers are introduced in this place, with this note:

"¶ These Prayers that followe, are used in the French Church of Geneva; the first serveth for Sonday after the sermon, and the other that followeth is said upon Wednesday, which is the day of Commune Prayer." There is also "A forme of Prayers to be used in private houses everie morning and evening," &c. But all these will afterwards be introduced, according to the date of publication, instead of interpolating the original form of the Liturgy.

[3] The transgression of God's ordinance is called iniquitie and idolatrie, and is compared to witchcrafte and sorcerie. 1 Sam. 15. c.—(*Mary. note.*)

[4] How dangerous also it is to enterprise any thinge rashely, or without the warrant of God's Woorde, the examples of Saul, Oza, Ozias, Nadab, and Abiu, oght sufficiently to warne us. 1 Sam. 13. c.; 2 Sam. 6. b.; 2 Chro. 26. c.; Lev. 10. a.; Nom. 3. a. —(*Ib.*)

comen prayer and preachinge, accompanied with the father and godfather. So that after the Sermon, the chyld beinge presented to the Minister, he demaundeth this question:

Do you present this childe to be baptised, earnestly desiring that he may be ingrafted in the mysticall body of Jesus Christ?

The Answer.—Yes, we require the same.

The Minister procedeth.

Then let us consider, dearly beloved, how Almyghtie God hath not onely made us his children by adoption,[a] and received us into the fellowship of his Churche; but also hath promised that he wilbe our God, and the God of our children, unto the thousand generation.[b] Whych thinge, as he confirmed to his people of the Olde Testament by the sacrament of Circumcision,[c] so hath he also renewed the same to us in his New Testament by the sacrament of Baptisme;[d] doing us therby to wyt, that our infantes apperteyne to him by covenaunt, and therfore oght not to be defrauded of those holy signes and badges wherby his children are knowen from Infidells and Pagans.[e]

a Rom. 8. c. Gal. 4. a. Ephe. 1. a. 2. c.
b Gen. 17. a. Exod. 20. a. Deu. 7. b. Esa. 59. d.
c Gen. 17. b. Rom. 4. b.
d Col. 2. c. Gal. 3. d. Act. 2. f.
e Act. 10. g.

Neither is it requisite, that all those that receyve this Sacramente have the use of understanding and faythe; but chiefelye that they be conteyned under the name of God's people:[f] So that remission of synnes in the bloode of Christ Jesus, doth appertaine to them by God's promise. Which thing is most evident by Sainct Paul,[g] who pronounceth the children begotten and borne, either of the parents being faythful, to be cleane and holy. Also our Saviour Christ admitteth children to his presence,[h] imbrasing and blessinge them. Which testimonies of the Holy Ghoste assure us, that infants be of the number of God's people; and that remission of synnes doth also apperteyne to theim in Christ. Therfore, wythout injurie, they cannot be debarred from the common signe of God's children. Neither yet is this owteward action of suche necessitie, that the lacke therof shuld be prejudiciall to their salvation,[i] yf that prevented by death, thei may not conveniently be presented to

f Act. 2. 1 Cor. 7. c.
g 1 Cor. 7. c.
h Mar. 10. b. Mat. 19. b. Luk. 18. c. Psal. 22. d.
i Rom. 4. b. Gal. 3. a. Jam. 2. d. Gen. 15. b. 17. b.

the church. But we (havinge respect to that obedience which Christians owe to the voice and ordinance of Christ Jesus, who commanded to preache and baptise all[k] wythout exception,) do judge theym onely unworthy of any felowship with him, who contemptuosly refuse suche ordinary meanes as his wisdome hath appointed to the instruction of our dull senses.

k Mark. 16. b. Matt. 28. d.

Furthermore, it is evident that Baptisme was ordeined to be ministred in the element of water,[l] to teache us, that lyke as water outwardly dothe washe away the fylthe of the bodye, so inwardly dothe the vertue of Christ's blood purge our sowles from that corruption and deadly poyson wherwith by nature we were infected.[m] Whose venemous dreggs,[n] althogh they continewe in this our flesh, yet by the merits of his deathe are not imputed unto us,[o] by cause the justice of Jesus Christ is made ours by baptisme.[p] Not that we thinke any suche vertue or power to be included in the visible water or owtward action, (for many have bene baptised, and yet never inwardly purged,[1]) but that our Saviour Christ, who commanded baptisme to be ministred, will, by the power of his Holy Spirite, effectually worke in the harts of his elect[q] (in tyme convenient) all that is ment and sygnified by the same. And this the Scripture calleth our regeneration,[r] which standeth chiefli in these two points,[2] in mortification, that is to say, a resisting of the rebellious lustes of the fleshe, and in newnes of lyffe, wherby we continually stryve to walke in that purenes and perfection wherwith we are cladd in Baptisme.

l Matt. 3. c. 1 Peter 3. d. 1 Joh. 5. b. 1 Cor. 10. a.

m Eph. 2. a. n Rom. 7.

o Rom. 4. a. Gal. 3. a. Psal. 32. a. p Rom. 6. a. Gal. 3. d.

q Act. 2. g. 13. g.

r Eph. 3. a. 1 Cor. 12. b. Rom. 6. a. Coll. 2. b.

And althogh we in the journey of this lyffe be incumbred wyth many ennemies,[s] which in the way assayle us, yet fyght we not wyth out fruite. For this continuall battaill which we fight against synne, deathe, and hell,[t] is a most infallible argument, that God the Father, mindfull of his promise made unto us in Christ Iesu, doth not only gyve us motions and

s 1 Peter 5. b. Luk. 22. d. Job 7.

t Rom. 5. a. 1 Peter 1. a. Jam. 1. a. Ephe. 6. b.

[1] As Judas, Simon Magus, Hymeneus, Alexander, Philetus.—(*Mary. note.*)

[2] The fruit of Baptisme standeth in two points, mortification and regeneration.—(*Ib.*)

courage to resist theim, but also assurance to overcome and obteine victorie.[u]

Wherfore, dearly beloved, it is not only of necessitie that we be once baptised, but also it moch profiteth oft to be present at the ministration therof; that we beinge putt in minde of the league and covenant made betwxit God and us,[x] that he wilbe our God, and we his people, he our Father, and we his children,[y] may have occasion as wel to trye our lives past as our present conversation, and to prove our selves, whether we stand fast in the faithe of God's elect, or contrariwise have strayed from him through incredulitie and ungodly lyvinge;[z] wherof if our consciences do accuse us, yet by hearing the loving promises of our heavenly Father, (who calleth all men to mercie by repentance,[a]) we may from hensforthe walke more warely in our vocation.

Moreover, ye that be fathers and mothers may take hereby moste singular comfort, to se your children thus receyved in to the bosome of Christes congregation, wherby you are daily admonished that ye norishe and bring up the children of God's favor and mercye, over whom his fatherly providence watcheth continually.[b] Which thing, as it oght greatly to rejoyse you, (knowing that nothing can chaunce unto them wythout his good pleasure,[c]) so oght it to make you diligent and carefull to nurture and instruct them in the true knowledge and feare of God.[d] Wherin if you be negligent, ye do not only injurie to your own children,[e] hydinge from them the good will and pleasure of Almyghtie God their Father, but also heape damnation upon your selves, in sufferinge his children, boght wyth the bloode of his deare Sonne, so trayterously (for lack of knowledge) to turne backe from him.[1] Therfore it is your duety, with all diligence, to provide that your children, in tyme convenient, be instructed in all doctrine necessarie for a true Christian,[f] chiefely that they be taught to rest upon the justice of Christ Jesus

u 1 Cor. 15. g. Osee 13. d. Heb. 2. d. Job 16. d.

x Deut. 6. a. Josue 1. b.

y Jere. 31. f. Hebr. 8. c.

z Ephe. 4. e. Col. 3. b. Heb. 1. b.

a Ezech. 18. Act. 11. c. 33. 2 Peter 3. b. Deu. 4. d. 6. a.

b Matt. 18. b.

c Matt. 6. d. Luc. 12. a.

d Deu. 4. b. 6. a. 11. c. Ephe. 6. a.

e 1 Sam. 2. f. 4 King. 2 d.

f Gen. 18. c. Deut. 32. g.

[1] What danger hangeth over those parents, which neglect the bringing up their children in godlines.—(*Marg. note.*)

alone,[1] and to abhorre and flee all superstition, Papistrie, and idolatrie. Finally, to the intent that we may be assured, that you the father and the suretie consent to the perfourmance hereof, declare here before God and the face of his congregation, the somme of that faith wherein you beleve, and will instruct this childe.

Then the Father, or in his absence the God-father, shal rehearse the Articles of his faithe; which doone, the Minister exhorting the people to praye, sayeth in this manner, or such like, keeling:[2]

ALMIGHTIE and everlasting God, which of thy infinite mercie and goodnes hast promised unto us that thow wilt not only be our God, but also the God and Father of our children: we beseche thee, that as thou hast vouchesaved to call us to be partakers of this thy great mercie in the felowshipe of faithe,[a] so it may please thee to sanctifie with thy Sprite,[b] and to receive in to the number of thy children this infant, whom we shall baptise according to thy Woord,[c] to the end that he comming to perfite age, may confesse thee only the true God,[d] and whome thow hast sent Jesus Christ, and so serve him, and be profitable unto his churche in the whole course of his life;[e] that after this life be ended, he may be broght as a lyvely member of his body unto the full fruition of thy joyes in the heavens,[f] where thy Sonne our Christ raigneth, world wythout end. In whose name we pray as he hathe taught us:

Our Father, &c.

a Gal. 3. d. 1 Peter 1. a. Phil. 3. c.
b Rom. 3. d. 4. c. 2 Cor. 5. d. Rom. 8. c. Ephe. 2. d. 3. b.
c Matt. 28. d. Mar. 16. c. Act. 2. f.
d Rom. 10. b. John 17. a.
e Rom. 12. b. 1 Cor. 12. a. 2 Thes. 5. c.
f 1 Cor. 2. e. Rom. 6. d. Tit. 3. b.

When they have prayed in this sort, the Minister requireth the child's name, which knowen, he saith:

N., I baptise thee in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghoste.[a]

a Matt. 28. d. Mark 16. c. Act. 2 f.

[1] The true use of the Catechisme, to the execution wherof the fathers and godfathers bind theim selves.—(*Marg. note.*)

[2] In the edition 1562, the word "kneeling," is omitted.

And as he speaketh these words, he taketh water in his hand and layeth it upon the childes forehead: which done, he giveth thanckes as followeth:

FORASMOCHE, most holy and mercifull Father, as thow doest not only beawtifie and blesse us wyth common benefits, like unto the rest of mankinde, but also heapest upon us moste abundantly rare and wonderfull gyftes;[a] of dutye we lyft up our eyes and mindes unto thee, and gyve thee most humble thankes for thy infinite goodnes, which haste not only nombred us emongest thy sainctes,[b] but also of thy free mercie doest call our children unto thee, markinge theim wyth thys Sacrament as a singuler token and badge of thy love. Wherfore moste loving Father, thogh we be not able to deserve this so greate a benefite, (yea, if thow wouldest handle us according to our merits,[c] we shuld suffer the punishement of eternall deathe and damnation,) yet for Christes sake we beseche thee, that thou wilt confirme this thy favor more and more towards us, and take this infant into thy tuition and defence, whom we offer and present unto thee wyth common supplications, and never suffer him to fall to such unkindes, wherby he shuld lose the force of this baptisme,[d] but that he may perceyve thee continually to be his mercifull Father, throgh thy Holy Spirite working in his hart, by whose divine power he may so prevayle against Satan, that in the end, obteyning the victorie, he may be exalted into the libertie of thy kingdome.

a Ephe. 2. b. a. 1 Peter 2. b. Osee 2. d. 2 Pet. 2. d.

b 1 Peter 2. b. Ephe. 2. d.

c Rom. 2. a. Jere. 3. g. Isa. 40. b. Luk. 17. c.

d 2 Cor. 6. d.

THE MANER OF THE LORDES SUPPER.

The day when the Lordes Supper is ministered, which commonlye is used once a monthe, or so oft as the Congregation shall thinke expedient, the Minister useth to saye as followeth:

LET us marke, deare Bretherne, and consider how Jesus Christ did ordayne unto us his Holy Supper, according as S. Paule

maketh rehearsall in the 11. chapter of the Fi
Corinthians:

"I have," saith he, "receyved of the Lor
have delivered unto you, (to witt,) that th
the same night he was betrayed, toke bread
had geven thankes, he brake it, sayinge, Ta
this is my bodie which is broken for you; doo
membrance of me. Likewise after supper, he
sayinge, This cuppe is the newe Testament or
bloude, doo ye this so ofte as ye shall drinke t
brance of me. For so ofte as you shal eate
drinke of this cuppe, ye shall declare the Lor
his comminge. Therfore, whosoever shall eate
drinke the cuppe of the Lorde unworthelye, h
the bodye and bloud of the Lord. Then see
prove and trye hym selfe, and so let hym eate o
drinke of this cuppe; for whosoever eateth or
thelye, he eateth and drinketh his owne dam
havinge due regarde and consideration of the

This done, the Minister proceadeth to the exh

DEARELY beloved in the Lorde, forasmoch as
sembled to celebrate the holy Communion of th
of our Saviour Christ, let us consider these woo
how he exhorteth all persons diligently to tr
them selves before they presume to eate of
drinke of that cuppe. For as the benefite ys
truly penitent hart and lively faith we receyve
ment, (for then we spiritually eate the flesh
drinke his bloude,[a] then we dwell in Christ a
we be one with Christ and Christ with us,) so
great if we receyve the same unworthely, for t
of the bodye and bloud of Christ our Savio
drinke our own damnation, not considering th

a Joh. 6. g.

we kindle Godes wrath against us, and provoke him to plague us with diverse diseases and sundry kindes of death.

Therfore if any of you be a blasphemer of God,[b] an hinderer or slaunderer of his Worde, an adulterer, or be in malice or envie, or in any other grevous cryme, bewaylle your synnes, and come not to this holy Table, lest after the takynge of this holy sacrament, the Divell entre into you as he entred into Judas,[c] and fill you full of all iniquities, and bring you to destruction bothe of bodye and soule.

b Gal. 3. d.

c Joan 13 d.

Judge therfore your selves, Bretherne, that ye be not judged of the Lord; repent you truly for your synnes paste,[d] and have a lyvely and stedfast fayth in Christ our Saviour, sekinge onely your[1] salvation in the merites of his death and passion,[e] from hensforth refusinge and forgettinge all malice and debate,[f] with full purpose to live in brotherly amytie and godlye conversation all the dais of your lyfe.

d Matth. 3. c. Titus 2. c.

e Act. 4. c. Gal. 1. d.

f 1 Pet. 2. a. 1 Cor. 14. d. Ephe. 4. a. d.

And albeit we fele in ourselves muche frailtie and wretchednes, as that we have not our faith so perfite and constant as we ought, being many tymes readye to distruste[2] Godes goodness through our corrupt nature,[g] and also that we are not so throughlye geven to serve God, neyther have so fervent a zeale to set forth his glory as our duetye requireth, felinge still such rebellion in our selves, that we have nede dayly to fight against the lustes of our fleshe;[h] yet, nevertheles, seing that our Lorde hath dealed thus mercifully with us, that he hath printed his Gospell in our hartes,[i] so that we are preserved from falling into desperation and misbeliefe; and seing also he hath indued us with a will and desire to renownce and withstand our own affections,[k] with a longing for his righteousenes and the keping of his commaundementes, we may be now right well assured, that those defautes and manifolde imperfections in us, shalbe no hinderance at all against us, to cause him not to accept and impute us as worthie to come to his spirituall Table. For the ende of our comming thythèr is not to make protestation that we are

g Rom. 7. d.

h Gala. 5. c.

i Heb. 8. d. Jere. 31. f. Isa. 59. d.

k Rom. 7. c. d. Phil. 1. a. 2 Cor.

[1] In edit. 1561, erroneously "our."

[2] Ib. "instructe."

l Luk. 18. c. upright and juste in our lives,[1] but contrariw
seke our life and perfection in Jesus Christ, acl
the meane tyme, that we of our selves be the ch
m Ephes. 2. a. Luk. 18. c. and damnation.[m]

Let us consider, then, that this Sacrament is
dicine for all poore sicke creatures, a comfo
weake soules, and that our Lord requireth n
nes on our parte, but that we unfaynedly
noghtines and imperfection. Then to the end
worthy partakers of his merites and moste comf
(which ys the true eatinge of his fleshe, and d
n Joan. 6. f. bloud,[n]) let us not suffer our mindes to wander
sideration of these earthlie and corruptible thy
see present to our eies, and fele with our handes,)
bodely presente in them, as if he were inclosed i
wyne, or as yf these elementes were tourned and
the substaunce of his fleshe and blood.[1] For t
dispose our soules to receive norishment, reliefe,
of his substance, is to lift up our mindes by
thinges worldlye and sensible, and therby to ent
that we may finde and receive Christ,[2] where
o 1 Timo. 6. d. doutedlye verie God and verie man,[o] in the in
glorie of his Father, to whome be all praise, ho
now and ever. Amen.

**The Exhortation ended, the Minister commeth doune fro
sitteth at the Table, every man and woman in like
place as occasion best serveth: then he taketh bread, an
either in these woordes followinge, or like in effect:**

a Math. 26. c. Mark 14. c. Luke 22. b. 1 Cor. 12. c.

O FATHER of mercye, and God of all consolation,
a Apoc. 5. c. tures do knowlege and confesse thee as Gouvern

[1] "Transsubstantiatien, Transelementation, Transmutation, and Transformation, as the Papistes use them, are the doctrine of divells."—(*Marg. nota.*) The margin in the editions of 1

[2] "The true eaty sacrament."—(*Ib.*)

us, the workemanship of thyne own handes, at
erence and magnifie thy Godly Majestie: first, for
created us to thyne own image and similitude;[b]
at thou haste[1] delivered us from that everlasting
nation,[c] into the which Satan drewe mankinde
of synne, from the bondage wherof, neither man
able to make us free;[d] but thou, O Lord, riche
infinite in goodnes, haste provided our redemp-
in thy onely and welbeloved Sone, whom of verie
st give to be made man,[e] lyke unto us in all
ne except[f]) that in his bodye he myght receive
tes of our transgression,[h] by his death to make
thy justice,[i] and by his resurrection to destroye
auctor[2] of death;[k] and so to reduce and bring
the world,[l] frome which the whole offspringe of
ustly was exiled.[m]

acknowlege that no creature ys able to compre-
gth and breadthe, the depenes and height, of
excellent love,[n] which moved thee to shewe
none was deserved;[o] to promise and give life
d gotten victorie;[p] to receve us into thy grace
do nothyng but rebell against thy justice.[q]
ynde dulnes of our corrupt nature will not suffer
to waye these thy moste ample benefites;[r] yet,
the commaundement of Jesus Christ our
esent our selves to this his Table, (which he
used in remembrance of his death untyll hys
ne,[s]) to declare and witnes before the world that
e have receved libertie and life;[u] that by hym
t acknowledge us thy children and heires;[x] that
we have entrance to the throne of thy grace;[y]
lone we are possessed in our spirituall kinge-
and drinke at his Table;[a] with whome we have
on presently in heaven;[b] and by whome our

b Gen. 1. d.
c Ephe. 2. b. Gala. 1. a. Gen. 3. c.
d Act. 4. c. Heb. 1. d. Apoc. 5. a.
e Joan. 3. c.
f Hebr. 8. d.
g Heb. 4. d. 7. d.
h 1 Peter 2. d. Isa. 43. d. 53. a.
i Matt. 3. d. 17. a. Hier. 31. f. Heb. 8. d. Rom. 5. a.
k Hebr. 2. d.
l John 6. e.
m Gene. 3. d. Rom. 5. b.
n Ephe. 3. c.
o Ephe. 2. b.
p Joan. 6. d. 17. a. Eph. 2. b.
q Gene. 6. b. Rom. 3. b. Isa. 64. b. Psal. 5. b. 14. a. Rom. 7. c.
r Math. 16. c. 1 Cor. 2. d. Luk. 11. e. Math. 10.
s Math. 26. b. c. Luk. 22. b.
t 1 Cor. 11. c.
u Joan. 8. d. Gala. 5. c.
x Rom. 8. d. 1 Peter 1. b. Ephe. 1. d.
y Ephe. 2. d. Heb. 4. c. Rom. 3.
z Math. 25. a. Joan. 14. a. Luk. 12. d.
a Luk. 22. b. Apoc. 2. a.
b Philp. 3. d. Ephe. 2. b.

[1] Ib. "because thou hast."
[2] Ib. "author."

bodies[1] shalbe reysed up agayne frome the dust, a
placed with him in that endles joye, which thow, O
mercye, hast prepared for thyne elect, before the fou
c Ephe. 1. b. Apoc. 13. b. the world was layde.[c] And these moste inestimabl
we acknowlege and confesse to have receaved of th
d Rom. 3. c. Ephe. 2. b. Titus 3. b. cie and grace, by thy onely beloved Sonne Jesus Chri
which therefore, we thy Congregation, moved by
e Rom. 8. d. Sprite,[e] render thee all thankes, prayse, and glori
and ever.

a Matth. 26. c. Mark 14. c. b Luke 22. b. 1 Cor. 10 d. c 1 Cor. 11. c. John 13. 14. This done, the Minister breaketh the breade, and delyvereth it to who distribute and devide the same amongst theim selves, to our Saviour Christes commandement, and in likewis cuppe.[a] Duringe the which tyme, some place of the Scrip which doth lyvely set forth the death of Christ, to the int eyes and senses may not onely be occupied in these outwa bread and wyne, which are called the visible woorde; but th and myndes also may be fully fixed in the contemplation death, which is by this holy Sacrament representede.[3] action is done, he geveth thanckes, saying:

MOSTE mercifull Father, we render to thee all prays
and glorie, for that thou hast vouchsafed to grau
miserable sinners so excellent a gifte and threasor,
ceave us into the felowship and company of thy d
a 1 Cor. 10. d. Jesus Christ our Lorde;[a] whome thou deliveredst t
b Rom. 4. d. us,[b] and haste given hym unto us as a necessarie
c Joan 6. f. norishment unto everlastynge life.[c]

And now we beseche thee also, O heavenly Father
us this request; that thou never suffer us to bec
kinde as to forget so worthy benefittes; but rath
and fasten them sure in our hartes, that we may
d Luke 17. b. increase dayly more and more in true faithe,[d] which
e Gala. 5. b. ys excersised in all maner of goode workes;[e] and

[1] In edit. 1561, "our body;" in the edit. 1562, "our bodies."

[2] In the Latin version 1556, "quam hoc Sacramentum nobi lineat."

[3] In the edit. 1561, &c

Lord, confirme us in these perilous daies and
n,[f] that we may constantly stande and continewe
on of the same to the advancement of thy glorye,[g]
l over all things blessed for ever. So be it.

f Timo. 4. a. Ephe. 5, d. 2 Peter 3. a.
g Matth. 5. b. 1 Peter 2. b.

nded, the people singe the 103 Psalm, "My soule, give laude,"[1]
other of thancks givynge: which ended, one of the blessings
ionede is recitede, and so they ryse from the Table, and

To the Reader.[2]

y wolde marvell[4] why we followe rather this Order than any
administration of this Sacrament, let him diligently consider,
all, we utterly renownce the error of the Papistes; secondly,
nto the sacramentes theyr owne substaunce,[6] and to Christe
place. And as for the wordes of the Lordes Supper, we re-
m not bicawse they shuld chaunge the substaunce of the
ne, or that the repeticion therof, with the intent of the
ould make the Sacrament (as the Papistes falselie beleve, but
d and pronownced, to teache us how to behave our selves in
and that Christe might witnes unto our faithe, as it were with
wthe, that he hath ordayned these signes for our spirituall
forte. Wee do first, therefore, examyne our selves, accordyng
l's rule, and prepare our myndes that we may be worthie
so high mysteries. Then takyng bread, wee geve thankes,
distribute it,[a] as Christe our Saviour hath taught us. Fynally,
tion ended, we gyve thankes agayne, accordyng to his ex-
that without his woorde and warrante, there is nothyng in
ion attempted.[7]

a Mat. 26. c. 1 Cor. 11. c. Luk. 22. b.

to Sternhold's ver-
Psalm, which is sub-
556 edition of the
ers," &c.
version 1556, "His
is, accinitur ab uni-
destissimo concentu,
c., &c., aut alius ali-
menti."
Candido."
burgh edition 1562,

"If so be that any wolde marvel."

[5] "Why this Order is observed, rather than any other."—(*Marg. note, in edit.* 1561 *and* 1562.)

[6] In the edit. 1562, "unto the Sacrament his owne substance."

[7] "Nothing attempted herein without the expresse worde or example of Christ."—(*Marg. note, in edit.* 1561 *and* 1562.)

THE FORME OF MARIAGE.[1]

After the banes or contracte hathe byn publisshed thre severall
Congregation,[2] (to the intent that if any person have inter
either of the parties, they may have sufficient tyme to ma
lenge,) the parties assemble at the begynning of the ser
Minister, at tyme convenient, saythe as followeth :

OF MARIAGE.

The Exhortation.

DEARLIE beloved Bretherne, we are here gathered
the sight of God, and in the face of his Congregatio
and joyne these parties together in the honorabl
Matrimony,[a] which was instituted and auctorised b
selff in Paradise,[b] man beyng then in the state of
For what tyme God made heaven and earth, and al
theym, and had created and fasshoned man also aft
similitude and likenes, unto whome he gave rule a
over all the beastes of the earth, fisshes of the sea,
of the ayre; he said, It is not good that man lyve al
make hym an helper like unto hym selff. And God
faste sleape uppon hym, and toke one of his ribbes
Eva[3] therof; doying us therby to understand, tha
wife[4] are one body, one flesshe, and one blood. Sign
unto us the mysticall union that is betwixt Chris
Churche;[c] for the which cawse man leaveth his fath
ther and taketh hym to his wife,[d] to kepe company
the which also he ought to love, even as owr Saviou

a Heb. 13. a.
b Gene. 2. d. Prov. 18. d.
c Ephe. 5. g.
d Gen. 2. d. Mat. 19. a. Mark 10. a. 2 Cor. 6. d.

[1] In the Latin version 1556, "Ratio Instituendi Matrimonii."

[2] Ib. "Primum publicatio matrimonii semel, bis ac iterum per Ministrum in frequentia totius Ecclesiæ divulgatur, diversis temporum vicibus."

[3] "Heva," in edit. 15
as well as in the Latin

[4] "In Hebrewe, Man
and the Woman Ischa;
expressed the natural af
Man and his Wife."—(

is to say, his electe and faithfull congregation,[e] e John 17. b. Rom. 5. a. Hebr. 9. d. 1 Peter 3. d.
he gave his liffe.
bly also, it is the wives dewtie to studie to please
howsband,[f] servyng hym in all thynges that be f Ephe. 5. e. Col. 3. c. 1 Peter 3. a. 1 Cor. 11. a. 1 Tim. 2. d.
este; for she is in subjection, and under the go-
er howsband, so long as they contynew bothe
this holie mariage, beyng a thynge most honor- g Rom. 7. a. 1 Cor. 7. g. Mat. 19. a.
he vertue and force, that therby the howsband
e right or power over his own bodie, but the
ewyse the wyfe hathe no power over her own
howsband;[h] forasmoche as God hathe so knytt h 1 Cor. 7. a. 1 Peter 3. b.
r in this mutuall societie to the procreation of
they should bryng theym up in the feare of the
the increase of Christes kyngdome.[i] i Ephe. 6. a. 2 Tim. 2. d.
hey that be thus couppled together by God,
vered or put a parte, oneles it be for a season,
of bothe parties,[k] to th'end to gyve theym k 2 Cor. 7. a.
e ferventlie to fastyng and prayer; gyvyng dili-
he meane tyme, that their longe beyng aparte be
bryng them into the daunger of Satan through
And therfore to avoyde fornication, every man
e his owne wyffe, and every woman her owne
hat so many as can not lyve chaste, are bownde
dement of God to mary,[l] that therby the holye l Matt. 19. b. 1 Cor. 7. b.
, which is our bodies, may be kept pure and un-
synce owr bodies are now become the very m 1 Cor. 3. c. & 6. d. 2 Cor. 6. d. Lev. 26. b. 1 Peter 1. d.
esus Christe, howe horrible and detestable a
make theym the members of an harlot! Every
fore to kepe his vessel in all purenes and holi-
oever polluteth and defileth the temple of God, n 1 Thess. 4. Rom. 12. a. Ephe. 5. d.
destroye.[o] o 1 Cor. 3. d.

nister speakethe to the parties that shalbe mariede, in this

charge you, as you will answer at the daye of

a 1 Cor. 4. a.
Matt. 7. a.
Rom. 2. a.

judgement, when the secretes of all hartes shalbe
that if either of you do knowe any impediment wh
not be lawfully joyned together in matrimony, that
it; for be ye well assured, that so many as be cou
wise then Godes Woorde dothe allowe, are not joyne
by God; neyther is theyr matrimony lawfull.

If no impediment be knowen,[1] then the Minister sayet

I TAKE you to wittenes[2] that be here present, besech
to have good remembraunce hereof; and moreover,
any of you which knoweth that either of these part
tracted to any other, or knoweth any other lawfull i
let theym nowe make declaration therof.

If no cawse be alleaged, the Minister procedith, sayin

FORASMUCHE as no man speaketh agaynste this t
N., shall proteste here before God and his holy co
that you have takyn, and are now contented to ha
present, for your lawfull wyfe and spowse; promis
her, to love and intreate her in all thynges accor
dewtie of a faythfull howsband,[a] forsakyng all oth
her lyfe; and briefelie, to lyve in a holy conversatio
kepynge faythe and trewthe in all poyntes, accor
Worde of God and his holie Gospell dothe commau

a Col. 3. d.
1 Peter 3. b.
Matt. 19. c.
1 Cor. 7. b.
Mala. 2. d.

The Answere.

EVEN so I take her before God, and in presence
Congregation.

[1] In the editions 1561 and 1562: "If no impediment be by them declared, then the Minister saith, to the whole Congregation." So also in the Latin version of 1556: "Si nihil impedimenti objiciatur, his verbis compellat p

[2] In the later co "witness."

The Minister to the Spowse also sayethe :

proteste here before the face of God, in the pre-
holy congregation, that ye have takyn, and are
l to have, N., here present, for your lawfull hows-
ynge to hym subjection and obedience,[a] forsakyng
yng hys lyfe; and fynallie, to lyve in a holy con-
hym, kepinge faithe and truethe in all poyntes,
rde doth prescribe.

a 1 Cor. 11. a. Ephe. 5. c. Col. 3. c. 1 Tim. 2. d. 1 Peter 3. a. Ester 1. d.

The Answere.

ke hym before God, and in the presence of this his

[The Minister then sayeth :][1]

care to the [words of the] Gospell, that ye may
how our Lorde wolde have this holy contracte
served; and how sure and faste a knott it is,
no wyse be lowsed, accordyng as we be taughte
pter of S. Mathewes Gospell:—
risies came unto Christe to tempte hym and to
nde, sayinge, Is it lawfull for a man to put away
very lighte cawse? He answered, sayinge, Have
that He which created man at the begynnynge,
male and female? sayeng, For this thyng shall
her and mother, and cleave unto his wife, and they
e one flesshe; so that they are no more two, but
e. Lett no man therfore put asonder that which
wpled together."

Math. 19.

e assuredlie these woordes which owr Lorde and
speake, (accordyng as ye have hard them now re-
of the holy Gospell,) then may you be certayne,
he evyn so knytt you together in this holy state
Wherfore applie your selves to lyve a chaste and

[1] This line is omitted in the edit. 1556 and 1561.

holie lyfe together, in godlie love, in Christian peace example; ever holdinge faste the band of charitie wi breache, kepinge faithe and trueth th'one to the oth Godes Woorde dothe appoynte.

Then the Minister commendeth theym to God, in this sorte:

THE Lorde sanctifie and blesse you; the Lorde powr of his grace uppon you, that ye may please hym, a gether in holy love to youre lyves ende. So be it.

Then is songe the 128 Psalme, "Blessed are they that feare the or some other, appertaynyng to the same purpose.

THE VISITATION OF THE SICKE.[2]

BECAWSE the Visitation of the Sicke is a thyng veri rie, and yet notwithstandyng, it is hard to prescrib appertaynyng therunto, wee refer it to the discretion lie and prudent Minister; who, accordinge as he pacient affected, either may lift hym up with the messes of Godes merey through Christe, if he per moche afrayde of Godes thretenynges; or contrarie be not towched with the felinge of his synnes, may downe with Godes justice. Evermore like a skilfull framyng his medicine accordyng as the disease requi if he perceyve hym to wante any necessaries, he not leveth hym accordyng to his abilitie, but also pro others that he may be furnissed sufficiently. Mor partie that is visited, may, at all tymes, for his sende for the Minister; who dothe not onelie mak for hym there presentlie, but also, if it so requyre, eth hym in the publique prayers to the Congregation

[1] Sternhold's version of this Psalm is included in the edit. 1556.

[2] In the Latin versio sendis ægrotis."

Of Buriall.[1]

everently brought to the grave, accompagnied
gregation, withowte any further ceremonies;[2]
uriede, the minister goeth to the church, if it
, and maketh some comfortable exhortacion to
chyng deathe and resurrection.

DER OF THE ECCLESIASTICALL DISCIPLINE.

wne, howse, or familie can maynteine their estate
ithout policie and governaunce,[3] so the Churche
requireth more purely to be governed then any
can not without spirituall Policie and ecclesias-
continewe, encrease, and florishe.

Vord of God is the life and soule of this Churche,[a] a Ephe. 5. f.
rdre and discipline is as it were synewes in the
it and joyne the membres together with decent
lynes. It is a brydle to staye the wicked frome
s. It is a spurre to pricke forward suche as be
gent; yea, and for all men it is the Father's rodde
es to chastice gentelye the fautes committed, and
afterward to lyve in more godlie feare and reve-
e, it is an ordre left by God unto his Churche,
rne to frame their wills, and doinges, accordinge
God,[4] by instructing and admonishinge one an
d by correctinge and ponishinge all obstinate
temners of the same.

[1] version, 1556, "De ceremonie."

[2] "The necessitie of Discipline."—(*Marg. note.*)

[4] "What Discipline is."—(*Ib.*)

There are three cawses chiefly which move the
God to the executinge of Discipline.[1] First, th
evell conversation be not nombred amongest God
b Ephe. 5. f. to their Father's reproche,[b] as if the Churche of
sanctuary for naughtie and vile persons. The sec
is, that the good be not infected with compag
evell; which thinge S. Paule forsawe when he c
the Corinthians to banishe frome amongst theym
tuous adulterer,[2] sainge, "A litle leavyn maketh
c 1 Cor. 5. b. Gal. 5. b. whole lump of dowe."[c] The third cawse is, that
d 2 The. 3. b. 1 Cor. 5. c. corrected, or excommunicated, might be ashamed c
and so through repentance come to amendement;
thinge the Apostole calleth, "deliveringe to Sata
soule may be saved in the day of the Lord;" mean
might be ponished with excommunication, to the
soule shuld not perishe for ever.[3]

First, therfore, it is to be noted, that this cens
tion, or Discipline, is either private or publike; p
a man committ either in maners or doctrine agai
e Matt. 18. b. Luc. 17. a. Jam. 5. d. Lev. 19. d. 2 Thes. 3. d. admonishe hym brotherly betwixt him and thee
chaunce he stubburnely resist thy charitable adve
or els by contynuance in his faut declare that he
not; then, after he hath bene the second tyme
presence of two or three witnesses, and continueth
in his error, he oght, as our Savior Christ comm
be disclosed and uttered to the Church, so that
to publike Discipline,[4] he either may be receyved
pentance, or els be ponished as his faut requireth.

And here, as towchinge private Discipline, th
are to be noted.[5] First, that our admonitions p
godly zeale and conscience, rather sekinge to wyn
ther then to slaunder him. Next, that we be assur

[1] "For what causes it ought to be used."—(*Marg. note.*)

[2] In the edit. 1556, "adultether."

[3] "The order of procedinge in private discipline."—(*Mar*

[4] "Publicke Disciplin

[5] "What thinges are in private Discipline."—

vable by God's Woord. And finally, that we
stie and wisdome, that if we somewhat dout of
rof we admonishe hym, yet with godly exhorta-
e broght to the knowlage of his faut. Or if the
e to many, or be knowen of divers, that our
done in presence of theym.

concerne the whole Churche, in such sorte that
therof might procure some daunger to the same,
uttered to the Ministers and Seniors, to whome
e church doth apperteine.

like Discipline,[1] it is to be observed that the
ermit nothinge at any tyme unchastised with
onishement or other. If they perceyve any
Congregation, either evyll in example, sclaun-
ers, or not besemynge their profession; as if
ovetous personne, any adulterer, or fornicator,
ef, briber, false witnes-bearer, blasphemer,
underer, usurer; any person disobedient, sedi-
ute; any heresie or sect, as Papisticall, Ana-
d such like: briefly, what so ever it be that
e Christian congregation,[f] yea, rather what so f Ephe. 5. f.
edification, oght not to escape either admoni-
ment.

e it happeneth sometyme in the Churche of
hen other remedies assayed proffitt nothinge,
cede to the Apostolicall rodd and correction
nmunication,[2] (which is the greatest and last
elonginge to the spirituall Ministerie); it is
nothinge be attempted in that behalf with
ination of the whole Churche: wherein also they
nd take good heede,[3] that they seme not more
l frome the Congregation then to receyve againe

iscipline, and of the
rg. note.)
ation is the last

remedie."—(*Ib.*)

[3] "Rigor in ponishements ought to be avoyded."—(*Ib.*)

those in whome they perceyve worthie frutes of re
appeare. Neither yet to forbyd hym the hearinge
which is excluded frome the sacraments, and other d
Churche, that he may have libertie and occasion
Finally, that all ponishementes, corrections, censu
monitions, stretche no farther then God's Woorde,
cie, may lawfully beare.[2]

MATTH. XV.

They worshipe me in vayne, teachinge doctrine whi
traditions.

REVELAT. XVIII.

Come forthe of Babylon my people, that ye be no
of her synnes, nor receyve of her plagues, for
are gone up to heaven, and God hath reme
wickednes.

[1] "God's Woord is the onely rule of discipline."—(*Marg. note.*)

[2] In the Latin version 1556, this division is entitled, "De Disciplina seu Animadversione Ecclesiastica," followed by "De Eligendis Ministris" —"De Conscribendis Pastoris Formula"—"De Officio atque Electione Seniorum"—"De Diaconis, horumque Officio ac Electione"—"De Ministris Conventu"—an turis Interpretandis." spond with the English 174-179. At the foot o (p. 80) is added, "His mus Psalmos Anglico Genevensem Catechism Latine toties æditum n tavimus hoc loco attexe

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[The next portion of the volume, printed in 1556, has this title: "ONE AND FIFTIE PSALMES OF DAVID IN ENGLISHE METRE, wherof 37. were made by Thomas Sterneholde: ād the rest by others. Cōferred with the Hebrewe, and in certeyn places corrected as the text and sens of the Prophete required." (Same woodcut device as on the title-page, but no imprint or date.) Ends on p. 159, the Psalmes, as usual, being set to musick, as described at page 166, note 2.

Then follows the thir this title: "THE CATEC NER to teache children religion, wherin the Min eth the question, and th eth answere. Made by Doctor and Pastor in Chr Iohn Caluin. (The sa peated). BY IOHN M.D.LVI," pp. 167. T Prayers, &c., commence The woodcut device is the colophon *infra* page

Prayers to be used in Privat Houses, every Morninge and Evenynge.[1]

Morninge Prayer.

l and most mercifull Father, we do not present
before thy Majestie trusting in our owne me-
nes, but in thy manifold mercies,[a] which hast a Daniel 9. e.
are our Prayers, and graunt our requestes which
to thee in the name of thy beloved Sonne Jesus
d:[b] who hath also commaunded us to assemble b Joh. 16. e.
ther in his name,[c] with ful assurance that he c Matt. 18. c.
be amongst us, but also be our mediator and
rds thy Majestie,[d] that we may obteyne all d 1 Tim. 2. b.
hall seme expedient to thy blessed wyll for our
herfore we beseche thee, most mercifull Father, e 1 Joh. 3. d.
ovynge contenance towardes us, and impute not
nyfold synnes and offences,[f] wherby we justely f Psal. 32. a.
ath and sharpe punishement, but rather receyve
ye for Jesus Christes sake, acceptinge his death
s a juste recompence for all our offences,[g] in g 1 Joh. 2. a.
ow art pleased, and through whome thow canst
with us. And seinge that of thy great mercies
passed this night, graunt, O heavenly Father,
end and bestowe this day wholy in thy service,
thoghtes, wordes, and deedes may redounde to
hy name,[h] and good ensample to all men, who h Col. 3. c.
l workes may glorifie thee our heavenly Father
e as of thy mere benevolence[2] and love thow
created us to thyne owne similitude and lyke-

Prayers are sub-
on of 1556, at the
techism. In that
e Prayers are re-
peated; the Forms, &c., being added as a separate sheet, marked aa, without pagination: See note at page 154.

[2] In the later copies, "of thy favour."

i Gen. 1. d. nes,[i] but also haste chosen us to be heyres with thy
Jesus Christ of that immortall kingdome which th
edst for us before the beginnyng of world. We be
k Luk. 17. a. to encrease our faith and knowlage,[k] and to lighten
with thy Holy Spirite, that we may in the meane ty
godly conversation and integritie of lyfe; knowinge
ters, adulterers, covetous men, contentious persons, d
glotons, and suche lyke, shall not inherite the ki
l Gal. 5. d. God.[l]

(*) And becawse thou haste commaunded us to p
another, we do not onely make request, O Lord, for
and theym that thow hast already called to the t
standinge of thy heavenly wyll, but for all people a
m Act. 10. e. 1 Tim. 2. a. of the World,[m] who as they knowe by thy wonderf
that thow arte God over all, so they may be instruc
Holy Spirite to beleve in thee their onely Saviour and
n Rom. 10. d. But forasmoche as they can not beleve except they h
can not heare but by preaching, and none can prea
they be sent; therfore, O Lord, rayse up faithfull d
of thy mysteries, who settinge a parte all worldely
may bothe in theyr lyfe and doctrine onely seke
o Rom. 16. e. Contrarely confownd Satan, Antechrist,[o] with all hyr
Papistes,[1] whome thow hast already cast off into a
sense, that they may not by sectes, schismes, he
errors, disquiet thy lytle flocke.

And becawse, O Lord, we be fallen into the latte
daungerous tymes, wherin ignorance hath gott
p 2 Tim. 3. a. hand,[p] and Satan with his ministers seeke by all
quenche the light of thy Gospell, we beseche thee
q Matt. 7. c. tayne thy cawse against those raveninge wo
strengthen all thy servantes, whome they kepe in
bondage. Let not thy longe sufferinge be an occa
to encrease theyr tyrannye or to discorage thy
nether yet let our synnes and wickednes be a hin

[1] So in edit. 1562; in that of 1561, the words "and Papistes,"

out with spede, O Lord, consider these great
[1] chieflye the afflictions of our Contrie, which
through thy mercies, and nowe for contempt of
plagued accordinge to thy judgement.[r] Alas,
how not be intreated? Shall we thus be left in
ll all the world laugh at our shame for ever?[s]
ord, that we were more then sufficiently warned
ngeance to come, both by thy Worde and exem-
. For thy people Israell many tymes by their
ed thyne anger,[t] and thow ponishedest theym by
gement; yet thogh theyr synnes were never so
ey once returned from their iniquitie, thow re-
n to mercie.[u] We therfore, most wretched syn-
our manyfolde synnes, and earnestly repent us
wickednes and ungodly behavyor towardes thee;
can not of our selves purchase thy pardon,[x] yet
eche thee, for Jesus Christ sake, to shewe thy
s, and restore us agayne to thy favour. Graunt
er, these our requests, and all other thinges ne-
and thy whole Churche, according to thy promes
e our Lorde: In whose name we beseche thee as
us, saying:
, &c.

r Amos 8. Matth. 11. e.
s Psal. 77. b.
t Exo. 32 a.
u Esa. 37. a.
x Rom. 7. d. 2 Cor. 3. Luk. 17. c.

A Prayer to be sayd before Meales.[2]

epende upon thy providence, O Lord, to receyve
due sustenance in tyme convenient. Thou gev-
and they gather it; thou openest thy hand, and
yede with all good thinges.[a]
Father, which arte the fountayne and full trea-
dnes, we beseche thee to shewe thy mercies upon

a Psal. 104.

62, this part is quite
hat of 1561, all that
rds, "For thy peo-
ed.

[2] In the edition 1561, some other forms of Thanksgivings are added, which will afterwards be inserted.

us thy children, and sanctifie these giftes which we
b 1 Tim. 4. b. thy mercifull liberalitie,[b] grauntinge us grace to
c Tit. 2. c. soberlie and purely accordinge to thy blessed will
hereby we may ackhowledge thee to be the Author an
all good thinges; and above all, that we may reme
d Joh. 6. c. d. tinually to seke the spiritual foode of thy Worde,[c]
our soules may be norished everlastingly through o
Christ; who is the trewe breade of lyfe which came do
e Jhon 6. e. heaven,[e] of whome whosoever eateth shall lyve for
raigne with hym in glorie, worlde without ende. So

A Thankesgevinge after Meales.

LET all nations magnifie the Lord; let all people
praysinge and extollinge his great mercies. For h
kindnes is plentifully shewede forth upon us, and the
a Psal. 117. his promesse endureth for ever.[a]

We render thankes unto thee, O Lord God, for th
b Col. 3. c. benefites which we contynually receyve at thy bountef
not onely for that it hath pleased thee to feede us i
sent lyfe, gevinge unto us all thinges necessarie for
but especially because thow haste of thy free mercies
c Rom. 8. c. Tit. 3. b. us anewe into an assured hope of a farr better lyfe,[c]
d 2 Tim. 1. b. thowe hast declared unto us by thy holy Gospell.[d]
we humbly beseche thee, O heavenly Father, that
not suffer our affections to be so entangled or roote
e 1 Joh. 2. a. earthly and corruptible thinges,[e] but that we ma
f 1 Tim. 2. b. have our mindes directed to thee on high,[f] continu
g 1 Cor. 1. b. inge for the comminge of our Lord and Savyour Ch
h Rom. 8. d. tyme he shall appeare for our full redemptioun:[h] To
thee, and the Holy Ghost, be all honor and glorie, fo
ever. So be it.

Evenynge Prayer.

O LORD GOD, Father everlastinge and full of pitie,
ledge and confesse that we be not worthie to lyft

ıche lesse to present our selves before thy Majes- [a] Luk. 15. d. 18. c.
dence that thow wilt heare our prayers and
equestes, if we consider our owne deservinges;
nces do accuse us, and our synnes witnes against
we that thow arte an upright judge, which doest
sinners and wicked men, but ponishes the fautes
transgresse thy commaundementes.[b] Yet moste [b] Exod. 2. a.
er, since it hath pleased thee to commaunde us to
all our troubles and adversities,[c] promesinge even [c] Psal. 50. c.
s, when we fele our selves, as it were, swalloued
d desperation,[d] we utterly renounce all worldely [d] Psal. 18 a.
l flee to thy soveraigne bountie as our onely stay
esechinge thee not to call to remembrance our
es and wickednes,[e] wherby we contynually pro- [e] Psal. 79. b.
and indignation against us; neither our negli-
kindnes, which have neither worthely estemed,
s sufficiently expressed the swete comfort of thy
unto us; but rather to accept the obedience and
onne Jesus Christ, who by offeringe up his bodie
e for all,[f] hath made a sufficient recompence for [f] Hebr. 9. 10.
Have mercie therfore upon us, O Lord, and
offences.[g] Teache us by thy Holie Spirite that [g] Psal. 19. d.
e waye theym, and earnestly repent for the same.
the rather, O Lord, becawse that the reprobate,
ow hast forsaken,[h] can not prayse thee, nor call [h] Psal. 58. a.
but the repentinge harte, the sorowfull minde,
oppressed,[i] hungringe and thirstinge for thy [i] Psal. 5. e.
er sett forthe thy prayse and glorie.[k] And al- [k] Psal. 107. a.
wormes and dust,[l] yet thow arte our Creator, [l] Psal. 12. a.
vorke of thy handes; yea, thow arte our Father
ldren;[m] thow arte our Shepherde and we thy [m] 2 Cor. 6. b.
te our Redemer and we the people whom thow
how arte our God and we thyn enheritance:
t therfore in thyne anger,[n] O Lord; neither [n] Jer. 10. b. Psal. 6. a.
ur desertes ponishe us, but mercifully chastice

us with a fatherly affection, that all the world may knowe that at what tyme so ever a synner doth repent hym of his synne
o Eze. 18. d. from the bottome of his hart,[o] thow wylt put away his wickednes owt of thy remembrance, as thow haste promesed by thy holy Prophete. (*)[1]

Finally, forasmoche as it hath pleased thee to make the night for man to rest in, as thow haste ordeyned hym the day to travell, graunt, O deare Father, that we may so take our bodely rest, that our soules may contynually watche for the tyme that our Lord Jesus Christe shall appeare for our deliver-
p Luke 12. e. ance owte of this mortall lyfe;[p] and in the meane season, that we, not overcome by any tentations, fantasies, dreames, or
q Mat. 6. b. illusions,[q][2] may fully set our mindes upon thee, love thee, feare thee, and rest in thee. Furthermore, that our sleape be not excessive or overmoche, after the insaciable desires of our
r Luke 21. e. fleshe,[r] but onely sufficient to content our weake nature, that we may be better disposed to lyve in all godly conversation, to the glory of thy holy name and profett of our brethren. So be it.

A Prayer made at the First Assemblie of the Congregation, when the Confession of our Faithe, and whole Orders of the Church, was there red and approved.

O Lord God Almightie, and Father moste mercifull, there is
a 3 King. 8. c. none lyke thee in heaven nor in earthe,[a] which workest all thinges for the glorie of thy name and the comfort of thyne elect. Thow dydst once make man ruler over all thy creatures,
b Gen. 1. d 2. b. and placed hym in the garden of all pleasures;[b] but how soone,
c Gen. 3. d. alas, dyd he in his felicitie forget thy goodnes?[c] Thy people
d Exod. 23. b. Israel, also, in their wealth dyd evermore runne astray,[d] abus-

[1] "This marke directeth us to that part of the Morninge Prayer that is for th'increase of the Gospell, which also may be sayd here as tyme serveth."—(*Mary. note.*)

[2] In the edit. 1561 and 1562, "not overcomen by any fantasies, dreams, or other temptations."

inge thy manifold mercies; lyke as all fleshe contynually rageth when it hath gotten libertie and externall prosperitie. But suche is thy wisdome adjoyned to thy mercies, deare Father, that thow sekest all meanes possible to brynge thy chyldrene to the sure sense and lyvely feelinge of thy fatherly favor.[e] And therfore when prosperitie wyll not serve, then sendest thow adversitie, graciously correctinge all thy chyldren whome thow receyvest into thy howshold.[f] Wherfore we, wretched and miserable synners, render unto thee most humble and hartie thankes, that yt hath pleased thee to call us home to thy folde by thy Fatherly correction at this present, wheras in our prosperitie and libertie we dyd neglect thy graces offered unto us. For the which negligence, and many other grevous synnes whereof we now accuse our selves before thee, thow mightest moste justly have gyven us up to reprobate mynds and induration of our hartes,[g] as thow haste done others. But suche is thy goodnes, O Lord, that thow semest to forget all our offences,[h] and haste called us of thy good pleasure frome all idolatries into this Citie[1] most Christianlye refourmed, to professe thy name, and to suffer some crosse amongeste thy people for thy trewth and Gospell's sake;[i] and so to be thy wytnesses with thy Prophets and Apostles,[k] yea, with thy dearely beloved Sonne Jesus Christ our head, to whome thow dost begynne here to fashon us lyke, that in his glorie we may also be lyke hym when he shall appeare.[l] O Lord God, what are we upon whome thowe shuldest shewe this great mercye?[m] O moste lovynge Lord, forgyve us our unthankefulnes, and all our synnes for Jesus Christ's sake. O heavenly Father, increase thy Holy Spirit in us; to teache our hartes to cry Abba, deare Father![n] to assure us of our eternal election in Christ; to revele thy wyll more and more towards us; to confirme us so in thy trewthe, that we may lyve and dye therein; and that by the power of the same Spirit, we may boldely gyve an accompts[2] of our faith to all men with humblenes and mekenes, that where

e Ezech. 18. g.
f Hebr. 12. a. Proverb. 7. a.
g Rom. 1. d.
h Esa. 47. d.
i Matth. 5. a.
k Luk. 24. g. Acte 1. a.
l 1 Joh. 3. a.
m Psal. 8. a.
n Gal. 4. a.

[1] The City of Geneva.

[2] In edit. 1561, "an accountes."

as they backbyte and slaunder us as evyll doers, th
ashamed and once stopp their mowthes, seinge our
o 1 Peter 3. c. versation in Christ Iesu,[o] for whose sake we besec
Lord God, to guyde, governe, and prosper this our
in assemblinge our Bretherne to prayse thy holie na
not onely to be here present with us thy children ac
p Math. 18. d. thy promesse,[p] but also mercifullie to assist thy like
people, our Bretherne, gathered in all other places,
q Rom. 15. b. and we, consentinge together in one spirite and tru
(all worldly respectes set a part) seke thy onely
glorie in all our and their Assemblies. So be it.

---

1 Cor. 3.

No man can laye any other foundation then t
which is layed, even Iesus Christ.

Imprinted at Geneua, by Iohn
Crespin. Anno. D. M. D. LVI.
the tenthe of february.

ILIAR EPISTLES.

M.D.LV.—M.D.LVIII.

TILLIS AND LETTERIS OF THE SERVAND OF GOD KNOX, SEND FROME DYVERSE PLACES TO HIS S AND FAMILIARIS IN JESUS CHRYST.

Continued from Vol. III., *page* 402.][1]

XXVII.

HIS MOTHER, MRS ELIZABETH BOWES.

wayis of man ar not in his awn power.

jurney toward Scotland, belovit Mother, was ious to my awn judgement, befoir I did inter- e, yit this day I prais God for thame wha was ernall of my resort to theis quarteris; that is, I yow, and for yow, whome he maid the instru- me frome the den of my awin ease (yow allane frome the rest of quyet studie) to contemplat e fervent thrist of oure brethrene, nyght and and gronyng for the breid of lyfe. Gif I had ith my eyis[2] in my awn contrey, I culd not it. I praisit God when I was with yow, per- in the middis of Sodome, God had ma Lottis ma faithfull dochteris than tua. But the fer- oith fer exceid all utheris that I have sene; ye sall pacientlie beir, althocht I spend heir yit

erved that this and were written while tland, in the latter 555. All the letters XXVII.–XXXVII.) are contained in Dr M'Crie's Manuscript volume.

[2] Eyis, in the MS. usually written "eis."

sum dayis; for depart I can not, unto sic tyme as G
thair thrist a litill. Yea, Mother, thair fervenci
ravische me, that I can not but accuse and condemp
full coldnes. God grant thame thair hartis desyre!
yow adverteis of your estait, and of thingis that h
sence your last wrytting. Comfort your self in Godi
and be assureit, that God steiris up ma freindis tha
of. My commendationis to all in your company.
yow to the protectioun of the Omnipotent.

In great haist, the 4. of November 1555.[1]

Your Sone,

JOHN

XXVIII.

BELOVIT MOTHER,—With my maist hartlie com
in the Lord Jesus. Albeit I was fullie purpoisit to
yow befoir this tyme, yit hath God laid impedime
culd not avoyd: thay ar suche as I dout not ar to
and to the comfort of many heir. The trumpet b
sound thrie dayis together, till privat houssis of indiff
nes culd not conteane the voice of it. God for Chry
sake grant me to be myndfull that the sobbis of m
not bene in vane, nor neglectit in the presence of hi
O! sueit war the death that suld follow sic fourt
Edinbrugh, as heir I have had thrie. Rejoise, Mothe
of oure delyverance aprocheth; for as Sathan rage
the grace of the Halie Spreit abound, and daylie
testimonyis of the everlasting love of oure mercif
I can wryt na mair to yow at this present.

The grace of the Lord Jesus rest with yow. In
Monday.

Your Sone,

JOHN

[1] In the MS., the explanatory note, "Frome Scotland," is

XXIX.

Locke and Mistress Hickman, Merchandis wyffis in Londoun.

The Lord sall gather his dispersit.

ovit Sisteris in our Saviour Jesus Chryst, as I
ll for your continewance in the treuth of that
anis ye haif professit, sa dar I not omit, besyd
monitioun unto the haill congregatioun (whilk,
d and considder), particularlie also not onlie to
w, but evin in Chrystis bowellis to beseik yow,
the present idolatrie, but also, with suche ex-
od sall offer unto yow, by the consall and discre-
that God hath apoyntit to your heidis (your
ane), to avoid alsweill the occasioun of idolatrie
that assuiredlie sall follow that abominatioun.
my consall, deir Sisteris, howbeit at this present
lie to be followit. God sall prepair ane easie way,
dlie will be preferit unto yours. It wer mair
to me, as tuiching the warld, to knaw yow at
nes in your awn houses, then to be in suche a
that frome realme to realme, and citie to citie,
gremes, and yit sall find none. But God I tak
y conscience, that or I suld knaw yow so far
bow to idolatrie, and daylie confirme the same
ce, I rather wold chuse unto your company to
during sic tyme as that abominatioun sall in-
eit I know that ye myght live in thois quarteris
ience; whilk I greatlie dout ye can not do
w amangis thois whome God sall plague in his
small cross to my hart. But the Lord knaw-
e just Lot frome the middis of Sodome befoir

it be destroyit; and thairin do I rejois, having
promeis, that suche as murne in thair hartis fo
tioun and mischevous iniquitie, what tymes th
realmes and cities, salbe merkit in thair foirhei
same Angell that is apoyntit to tak vengeance upon
obstinat, and abominable idolaters. Heirin, I say,
fortit, having gud hoip that God sall provyd for
middis of a wickit generatioun; whilk na dout sal
according to the threatnyngis and voces of the
whilk lang and planelie cryit, when, allace! lit
was takin thairto. But when I considder and ca
how God, I dout not, brocht us in sic familiar ac
that your hartis war incensit and kendillit with a s
over me, as the mother useth to be over hir natural
how my hart was opinit and compellit in your pre
mair plane in suche matteris as efter hath cum to
ever I was to any. For ye remember, as I suppois
great angusche and sorrow of hart, whilk many d
teanit, at last I was compellit, with weiping teari
unto you that whilk almaist no man culd haif be
remember my judgement, and what communicatio
upon the same. God grant ye remane in the same
then I found yow, whilk was, that ye litill regardit
the warld, or yit the love of your contrey, in resp
lyfe to cum; and that ye rather wald leif posse
freindis nor that ye suld admit idolatrie.

When all theis thingis I call to mynd, and how
exhortit yow to tak exempill by me, who was a stran
be Godis grace had found favour not onlie in your e
befoir many, (howbeit with none I was so familiar);
remember that commonlie I usit to admonische y
gud comfort, albeit ye suld be compellit for Chry

[1] "During the life of King Edward, Knox had strong presages of the troubles about to come upon England."—(Note by the Editor Reformers.) See his to the Faithfull, vol. iii

e contrie; for God suld never leif yow comfortles,
is provyd for yow, evin as he had done for othir
yow, and as ye presentlie saw his mercie schawit
nd when I remember that all sic admonitionis I
apeirance thair was of suche trubillis, as efter
and mair aboundantlie sall ensew; when all theis
o mynd, I can na uthirwyse judge, but that God
aritie and communicatioun for that present, as a
r a scharper medicene; and thairfoir I can not
ernistlie to exhort yow, that altogidder ye re-
he admonitionis of God, but to gif place to Godis
or to expone your self to the perdition boith of
llis. My hart weipis, and my eyis ar not dry in
of yow, but verie love compelleth me thairto.
ir Sisters, the schortnes and vanitie of all that
emember the promissis maid to thois that obey
nmandementis. Lay befoir your eyis the horribill
hath fallin upon idolateris, of whome nane sall
kingdome of God; and call first for grace by
w that whilk is acceptabill in his syght, and
municat with your faithfull husbandis, and than
ut not, conduct your futsteppis, and derect your
s glorie: So be it.
a litill rejoisit my trubillit hart, to know and
our constant love and cair not onlie to remane,
ncres towardis me in theis dangerous and wickit
is a most assuret tokin and demonstratioun,
fect love is not extinguschit be trubill and feir.
schaw a face of love whair na danger apeireth;
cutioun can na man cair, nor be solist for
nberis, but suche as ressave lyfe frome that
many tribulationis hath enterit into his king-
air our places, and schortlie sall returne to put
cairis, to weip the tearis frome our eyis, and to
s in that New Erth and Hevinlie Jerusalem, a

hundreth fold more then in this miserabill lyfe we ha
his sake; togidder with the lyfe everlasting whilk he
chassit unto us, nether with corruptible gold nor silv
with the blud of calvis or goatis, mekill less be obl
rather divillische conjuratioun of ane abominabill Id
bread,[1] whois worschippers sall not eschape the
plague of Godis wrath; but by his awn most prec
onis offirit for all, to mak perfyt for ever thois that
tifeit. Of whilk noumber, as my assureit hoip is th
so hartlie I besech the Father of oure Lord Jesu
that in theis dolorous dayis so ye may be assistit be
Gaist, that knawing his godlie will ye may be move
the same, to his glorie, and your eternall comfort.

My hartlie commendatioun to your loving husbar
hartis God comfort, evin with the sobbis of the
whome oft yow haif comfortit. And now most of
mit yow to the protectioun of Him, wha sall not
recompens your cairfull mynd over me, most hartlie
yow of your particular rememberance and tokin
you fairwell be Jesus Chryst our Lord, wha sall ga
glorie when deth may not dissever us. Rejoise, Si
continew, for the tyme approcheth.

Your Brother, that schewit this visioun unto yo
suche thing was suspectit,

1556. JOHNI

XXX.

To his Sister in Edinburgh.

The mychtie comfort of the Halie Spreit for Saluta

THE unfeanid desyre whilk ye seamed to haif, belovi
proceid in godlines, moveth me at this tyme to p

[1] The Romish host, or consecrated wafer.

solempnit professioun whilk anis ye maid in my
ilk wer thir cheif principallis: First, that salva-
is nane to be found without the bodie of our
hilk anis offirit, and suffering the death, we, and
childrene, do confes the onlie sacrifice accepta-
nt of God the Father, for the offences of all be-
ilk sacrifice ar all the elect of God not onlie anis
also sanctifeit be the same, for ever. All sacri-
ther than the death of the immaculat Lamb,
opinlie protest oure selves to abhor and detest.
eligioun not groundit upon the Word of God, we
oclame abominabill and wickit.
confessioun, I knaw that not onlie the Divill in his
ng into the sonis of unbeleif, sall stryve and con-
st that whilk is the subversioun of his haill king-
sall he cleith him self in ane Angell of lycht, and
der the colour of freindschip (as in ane uthir letter
, and sall allure and solist yow be persuasionis of
an, that ye neid not to be sa strait and sa seveir,
rcifull; and thairfoir that ye may beir with the
ding danger and displeasure baith to your self
. Yea, perchance he salbe so bold, that he sall
tempt God, except that ye do as uthiris do, to
in saiftie. But to all theis objectionis, belovit
ansuer na uther wayis than oure Maister gaif
ommandement to his Discipillis, in theis wordis:
as dowis,[1] and prudent as serpentis." Befoir, he
ekill of thair trubill; and he was not ignorant,
wayis thai suld be temptit. Sumtymes, thai suld
defend thame selves be the arme of man; and
he commandis unto thame the simplicitie of the
defend hir self by no uthir meanis, frome the
enous foullis, but onlie be the suiftnes of hir
ymes, thai suld be temptit to obey wickit majes-

[1] "Dowis," doves.

trates into thingis unlawfull; and in that case he wil
follow the prudence of the serpentis, wha doith st
when sche begyneth to heir ane instrument play,
sing, lest that be the sueitnes of the same sche sul
asleip, and sa takin or slane. So willit Chryst his
to schut up the earis of thair mynd, when that ever
by pleasing allurementis, wald persuad us to dec
God, be obedience gevin to iniquitie.

Be yow assured, deir Sister, that all theis persuas
thing ellis but sweit songis of the Divill, to bring
asleip, to that intent that he may distroy it. Trev
God is mercifull; but aucht we thairfoir continew in
repentance? Yf it be strait severitie to flie and avoy
then is it fulischnes to absteane frome adulterie, for t
alyke odious[1] befoir God; yea, the one, in sa far as i
lat the first Tabill, is moir abominable befoir him tha
Danger is to be feirit, I confes; but I wonder that m
of ane uncertane danger, will jeopard to rin on the ine
perpetuall condempnation. The Word of the living
was, is, and salbe sure and stabill for ever, promiss
tioun to idolateris, and unto sic as for feir of temp
ment dar not absteane frome idolatrie. But the wo
man doith threattin temporall death to sic as wil
thair wickit and detestable preceptis. Now, lat yo
judge whilk danger is greattest, maist sure, and r
feirit. The Word of God whilk pronunceth deith
to idolateris is irrevocabill, and can not be fals. Th
wraith of man is vane and uncertane, lyke him self:
forme nothing of his awn cogitationis: he hes not
breath nor lyfe to live the moment of ane hour: ho
he have power to hurt and molest the sonis and da
the most hiest God, without his awn permissioun
ance?

Na, Sister, thair is na sic thing to be feirit;

[1] The MS. has "adois."

ome idolatrie be callit ane tempting of God, but
edience gevin to his commandement, whilk his
acknawledge, allow, and justifie, when feirfull
trembill and schaik befoir the Judge maist in-
thairfoir, deir Sister, studie ye to pleas your
r, and he sall tak cair over yow. He that hath
n youre motheris womb, that hath send yow the
ssit Evangell, and hath coverit the multitude of
ith the mantill of his mercie, will not leif yow
our battell whilk ye sall susteane for his treuthis
d of comfort and consolatioun, wha hath callit
esus oure Lord, wha by the blude of the eternall
he great pastour of oure saullis, mak yow perfyt
kis, and establische yow in the knawin veritie of
d: whais Omnipotent Spreit comfort and assist
ver.

8. of August 1556.

Youris knawin,

JOHNE SINCLAIR.[1]

XXXI.

TO HIS SISTERIS IN EDINBURGH.

to your Scripture, tuiching[2] the Apparell of
anded be the Apostillis Sanct Paule and Peter
c as profess godlines, is verie difficill and dan-
ynt any certantie, leist in sa doing we either
tiane libertie, or else loose the brydill too far

Knox had reached
ay to Geneva. In
the period, he had
er's name, evident-
ly to avoid compromising his friends in Scotland, in the event of his letters being intercepted. See p. 245.

[2] "Tuiching," touching.

to the folische fantassie of facill flesche. For gif
dempne sic vane apparell as maist commonlie
amang wemen, we salbe callit rigorous and sev
accusit as too muche .inclynyng to superstitiour
we sall say that to the cleane all is cleane, and
ternall apparell doith not defyle the inward consci
feir that we salbe patronis to sic as be thair vaniti
nes and declair that thay litill understand what i
puritie, whilk doith not onlie studie to keip the s
Godis presence, but is also maist cairfull to give gu
to uthiris, and to avoid all occasioun of offence a
Thair be sum whilk will not be sene altogether
Godis Word, and yit, nevertheles, armit as it wer
ampill of the multitude in apparell, ar mair lyke t
than to grave matronis. Let sic knaw and perf
stand that thair knawledge within the Scriptures
turne to thair condempnatioun, except that be tha
pentance thay prevent Godis judgementis. For i
not that in sa mony and dyvers places of Script
gevin advertisment in that case, and that his Maj
hath chydit aganis the superfluous apparell and st
of wemen.

But yit I say, to determyne any certane thing
half is dangerous, for the considderatioun afoi
evin as a certane dyet and quantitie or qualitie
drink can not be prescrybit to man, for the vari
natures, complexionis, and age, sa can not a cer
or fassioun of garment be apoyntit nether to m
man. The Word of God condempneth drounkin
delicacie, banketting, with fersing[1] of the bellie, yit
apoynt, nether measure ane kynd of meit to b
assureth the godlie, that the beastis of the earth, t
the air, and the fischis of the sea, be apoyntit for
tentatioun, and that to the faithfull all thingis be

[1] From the French verb *Farcir*, to stuff, to cram, to

:he Word of God, and by prayer, that is, that
ois assure, that in meattis be thame selves thair
es. And be that, that we ask of God in ane un-
that we may use the giftis of God to his glorie,
es ar assureit that to us thay ar sanctifeit and
But yit gif any man will for an use and consue-
e Grace (as thay call it), and yit, nevertheles,
ne, surfeit, and banket, and say all is cleane, I
hat his conscience is pure, becaus I sie him use
oun, and maners of uncleane personis, that is, of
l ryottis. Evin sa is it to be judgeit of the other;
lkis, velveit, gold, and uthir sic, thair is na un-
becaus that uncleane personis do abuse the same
; sum to allure the eyis of men, sum for pryd,
us thay will not be unlyke to thair fellowis. I
e the commoun superfluitie whilk now is usit
in thair apparell. For whair the Apostill for-
brodering and wresting of the hair, the attyring
l uther suche, he condempneth all affectatioun
of trimines, fairness, bewtie, and decking, uther
s gevin and simpill honestie doith requyre; and
either labour and studie continewallie to correct
e, or yit that be led away with everie new gyse of
reatlie offend aganis that precept of the Apostill
ent; for he will, not onlie that the faithfull ab-
, but also fra all apeirance of evile. Gif the broy-
hair be evill, as it is pronuncit to be, assuredlie
and colouring of it cannot be gude. Gif sic
y the Prophet repruffit in the wemen of his tyme
, verdingallis, and sic other fond fantassies that
theis dayis, can not be justifeit.

uld not appeir mair seveir nor utheris ar, I have
to translat a Sermone[1] of the man of God, Johne
end that in that matter ye may knaw the judge-

mon, translated by Knox, no trace has been discovered.

ment of mo than ane; whilk Sermone ye sall ressave
rall traitise be the self. The place of Moses forbidd
to be apparellit in the claithing of men, and men lyk
apparellit in the garmentis of wemen, doith teache u
ordour whilk God hes set in nature aught not to be
changeit, but aught maist cairfullie to be observ
God, wha hath put a distinctioun betuix man and
garments, wisdome, strenth, and office, is contemnit
man I admonische yow, that the Hebrew text sayith
the instrumentis or weaponis of man be upon the wo
is, let not the woman presume to beir the weapon
neither lat the man be cled in a womanis garment.
it is plane, that the Halie Gaist doith appoynt a co
ment to the ane kynd, and a certane sort of weap
other. The garmentis of wemen do declair thair w
unabilitie to execute the office of men. The instru
weaponis whilk men do commounlie beir, do admon
God sall requyre at thair handis, to wit, prudence,
strenth, constancie, administratioun of justice, and
sic as be committit to thair charge; with the beiri
and autoritie in Commounweillis and in his Kirk.
the weaponis, as I have said, of men, whilk God, be h
lawis, and ordinances, hath put into thair handis, c
thay sall spoill thame selves, and put on the appa
men, then ar thay abominable befoir God; as be the
gif wemen, forgetting thair awn weaknes and inabil
do presume to tak upon thame to beir and use the
and weaponis of men, that is, the offices whilk God
nit to mankynd onlie, thay sall not eschaip the m
of Him wha must declair himself enemy, and a seve
of all thois that be malicious perverteris of the o
lissit be his wisdome. But becaus this matter a
not to yow, I omit farther declaratioun of the sam
present.

The place of Scripture, writtin in the Secund to

ng oure clothing with oure mansioun fra heavin, is
nderstand, gif that the mynd of the Apostill be
it, whilk is, to animat and incorage men to suffer
hryst pacientlie; whilk is a thing maist repugnant
e, and impossibill to be done, except that oure
it up fra the erth to the heavin; and thairfor the
that, in the former chapter, he had concluded
tary truble bringeth ane eternall joy, in the be-
s chapter declareth, that in this erth thair is na
elect of God of any lang continewance, but that
citie is reservit for the lyfe to cum. And to mak
air plane, he compaireth the bodie whilk now liv-
tage or a tent, as Job also calleth it a hous of clay,
wayis falling in decay, and never doith abyd in any
ait; and that bodie that salbe gevin to us in the
he calleth eternall, not maid with handis, but ane
r building whilk we sall have from God, becaus the
ditioun thairof salbe immuveabill. The difference
bodeis being laid, he declaireth that thrist and
we aught to have to be cled with oure heavinlie
k can not be befoir that this erthlie hous be bro-
becaus that the bodeis of all men do turne to
and yit sall not have a lyke resurrectioun, he de-
aus in theis wordis, "Gif we be found cled and
The caus why the reprobat sall ryse in judgement
tioun, is that thay ar found nakit, that is to say,
tis justice, whilk onlie is the spousing garment to
with whilk sa many as salbe found cled, salbe cled
ortalitie and glorie. And sa the Apostill mean-
lis elect in this lyfe are cled with Chrystis justice
with the sanctificatioun of his Halie Spreit, and
, sall thay be cled with immortallie and honour.
obat, because in Godis presence thay bring na
thair awn filthie nakitnes, thairfoir must thay
confusioun and schame. God illuminat oure

hartis to understand the comfort of the ane, and t
of the other! Amen.

TUICHING thingis dedicat to Idollis, whairof mentio
in the 8. and 10. chapteris of the First Epistill to
thians, gif the mynd of Sanct Paule be rychtlie unders
sall remane na sic doubt as ye find. Whair that ye w
end of your letter, that ye belevit Sanct Paule had
forbidden men to be participant with idolateris, a
apeireth to gif thame leif to eat thingis offerit to
cept that ane uthir man admonische the eatter, y
derstand that thair is tua sortis of participatioun
teris; ane, in the act of thair idolatrie, whairof m
maid in the 8. chapter, and that is never lawfull
without the act of thair idolatrie, whilk may be in
vate houssis, and that in sum cassis may be lawfull.
this division must be observit, the text itself sall de
the foirsaid 8. chapter, the generall conclusioun of the
That na thing culd excuse thame to be partakeris w
adding the reasone in the 10. chapter, in these wor
thingis whilk the Gentiles do sacrifice, thay sacrific
divillis, and not to God: And I wald not have yow
with the divillis: for ye may not baith drink the
Lord and the cupe of divillis: ye can not baith c
with the tabill of the Lord, and the tabill of divillis.'
it is plane, that the Apostill condempneth all par
with idolateris in thair publict conventionis and in
thair idolatrie; nether will he admit any kind of exc
behalf, as be his strang reasonis do appeir. For wh
inthians alledgeing thair knawledge, affirming that
what the idoll was, to wit, that it was na thing, and
na power; and whair farder thay boistit and bragg
tiane libertie, he repelleth baith with ane reasone, t
science and knawledge without cheritie is but
pryde, and that the libertie of all thingis aught to

oundis and limitis of edificatioun, sa that a Chris-
ot luke onlie what he may do without offence of his
ce, but also he is bound to abstaine fra everie thing
offend the weak conscience of another professing
els in wounding the conscience of the weak, whilk
he exempill of sic as profess knawledge thay ar in-
do aganis thair awn conscience, we do injurie and
o Chryst; and sa be the rule of cheritie will he
rtie salbe measureit. And leist that the Corin-
have alledgeit, amangis us thair is nane weak, for
ill yneugh that in idollis thair is na power, the
wereth, "Yit notwithstanding ye may not be par-
thame in thair publict conventionis, becaus thair
d offeringis ar maid to divillis, and I wald not
rtakeris with divillis."

us mark and ponder the wordes of the former
he affirmeth that the offringis of the Gentillis
divillis. It apeireth to be a bold affirmatioun,
hing as nane of his tyme wald have suddanlie
it is not to be thocht that the Gentillis wer sa
d beistlie, as that of set purpois thay wald have
served the divill; na, they servit thois whome
to be Godis, being sa taucht and instructit
antecessouris. And the maist part of the Chris-
thay understude the vanitie of the thing, yit
it not sa abominable as that it suld be honour-
s, but that it was a thing indifferent, and did not
d God. But the Apostill doith planelie affirme it
of divillis, becaus it was ane honour and service in
eligioun, inventit be the braine of man, without the
d of God; and all sic service and honour is service
beit it be offirit to the verie trew and living God.
ter Moses did affirme, baith the Cannanitis and
have offerit thair sonnis and dauchteris to divillis
od; and yit thair purpois and intent was to offir

unto God a maist acceptabill sacrifice, in that thay
spair for his sake the fruitis of thair awn bosome and

But vane be all the cogitationis of men, sa soone a
the leist a jot declyne fra Godis Word. In religioun t
middis: either it is the religioun of God, and that in ev
that is done it must have the assurance of his awn W
than is his Majestie trewlie honourit, or els it is the
of the Divill, whilk is, when men will erect and set u
sic religioun as pleaseth thame; and na dout is t
honourit, and all that decreith or assisteth sic religi
thair presence, or manteineth it with thair substanc
noureris of the Divill (as the Apostill plainlie affirm
thair presence, and thair daylie support for mantenar
religioun, is a declaratioun of thair consent with than
nioun. And sa will the Apostill, that in any case thay
fra the societie of idolateris in the act of thair idolat
except (yf we luke to be partakeris with Chryst), we n
observe; but this I defer unto mair opportunitie.

Thair was ane uthir participatioun with idolateris,
the Apostill doith not altogether condempne, whilk ap
be this: Efter thair solempne sacrifices, commounlie t
bankettis, to the whilk thay callit thair familiaris, not i
assemblies, but in thair privat houssis, whilk thing of t
plane to be collectit. For whair the Apostill sayith, "
thois that sit with yow admonische yow that the thin
ye eat wer dedicat to idollis, then aucht ye to absteane
of I say, it is plane that this was done in thair privat
and not in the actioun of idolatrie in the commoun a
For what neidit any to have gevin advertisment tha
had bene offerit to idollis gif thay had bene in the act
trie, whair all thingis wer offerit and presentit befo
and to thair service. To thois particular assemblies
privat houssis, whair na idolatrie was opinlie usit, P
mitteth thame to ga, gif thay have pleasure, and will
And yit in giving his permissioun, he apeireth to

o be that thay suld not ga, nor that thay suld
vith thame. For in theis wordis that he sayeth,
," he obscurelie meaneth, that he rather wald
nd of thois that altogether did absent frome all
lateris, not of thois that usit familiaritie with
it becaus it was a thing pertenyng to the com-
f men, he wald not altogether forbid it.
s considder what precept he giveth to sic as ga to
with infideillis; first, he sayeth, "Whatsoever is
eat, disputting nothing for conscience' sake." In
e Apostill declareth the libertie of a Christiane
it and drink, to wit, that na meit ressavit with
hanks geving unto God can defyle the conscience
it that it hath bene prophanit, in that it hath
ydollis. And in this apeirantlie he wald remove
lyke wer risin amangis the Corinthians, that is,
is offerit to ydollis did contract be the oblatioun
Or yf thay did not defyle be thame selves the
Chrystians eating the same? Neither is it to be
lbeit weak consciences did find in sic cassis a
ring that sum whilk pretendit greit leirnyng and
Godis Word many yeiris efter, did affirme, that
to idollis culd never be usit amangis Christians
of conscience; yea, sum feirit not to say, that
r die of famyne and hunger then to eat of that
phanit in the sacrifice of ydollis. And in verie
reth in his Law to have had in great detestation
precious and necessar) whilk anis had maid ser-
vill in idolatrie. For the Lord commandit the
erecho to be distroyit, and na part of the sub-
sam to be reservit; whilk sentence he also pro-
everie citie that sall revolt from God bak to
d farther, commandeth his pepill to break doun
destroy groves, to stamp to pouder and to scat-
l, the gold, silver, and mettall whairof the idollis

and veschellis apperteanyng to thair service was ma
by, as befoir is said, God declaireth that he haldet
natioun not onlie the idolateris, but also the idollis
aperteane to thame. But heir the Halie Gaist, b
till of Jesus Chryst, removith frome us all sic doubti
bill the Corinthians and sum of the ancient Wrytte
them, saying, "Whatsoever is sald in the market, ea
whatever is put befoir yow, evin in the houssis of
full, eat of it, feiring nothing the defylling of your
for the earth is the Lord's, and the plenitude of th
the Apostill wald say, the benedictioun whilk God
his creatures to nuriss and feid the bodeis of men,
libertie that he hath grantit to his children to us
can never be prophanit, nor yit restranit by the
men, or by thair wickit fact. Trew it is, that in
thame lyeth, thay, that is the blind and wickit
bring upon the creatures whilk thay abuse the curs
dictioun of God, in sa mekill as thay caus thame
his glorie and honour; but this curse doith the b
whilk we ressave be Christ Jesus quenche, utterli
and take away; evin as it doith the curse and mal
the haill Law, sa that oure conscience is set at free
libertie of the Gospell, whilk pronounceth all th
cleane to the cleane, and heirin have we great
quyetnes to our conscience; for gif we suld star
whether that the creatures may contract any filth
abuse of thame in the handis of other men, thair su
be cleane to us in earth; for what creature do
wickit abus, and compelleth the same to serve the
all iniquitie; but the former abuse can not mak
unto us, gif that oure hartis be cleangeit and purg
And heirin have we great caus to prais the bounteou
of our God, wha sa aboundantlie provydeth for h
and sa mercifullie dealleth with thame, that the sam
whilk the ungodlie do abuse to thair condempnatiou

tifie and bliss to the halie use and necessarie sus-
his deir children.

ıt us considder the exceptioun of Sanct Paule,
yf any man say unto yow, That it was offirit
at not for him that hes schawit it, and for his
ıot for thy conscience, I say, but for the con-
other," that is, of him that hath gevin the ad-
In whilk wordis the Apostill meaneth, that I
ie to have respect to my awn conscience in the
God, but also unto that whilk may hurt and
ak brother; sa that gif my brother judge me to
cassis as he giveth to me advertisment, I am
steane fra the same, for the rule of cheritie doith
nat obedience, and will in na wyse suffer that I
ther. Yf without offence of God I may avoid it,
yng fra a small portioun of meit, I easelie may,
e Apostill sayith in another place, Neither am I
I eat, neither the worse yf I absteane; and this, I
nynd of the Apostill, how far, and in what cassis
ıpany infidellis and idolateris, and how not. In
nd tyme of thair idolatrie we never may accum-
but in sa doing we approve their abominatioun,
eme we God and disprove his trew religioun. In
ıoussis we may be with thame at tabill and mu-
icatioun, sa that in oure lyfe, conversatioun, rea-
alk, (yf any questioun of religioun chaunce to be
declair that we ar professouris of Chrystis treuth,
to all superstitioun. For gif God requyre the
e in us that his Spreit, speiking in Sanct Paule,
f the Corinthians, we man not only absteane fra
assemblies of idolateris in the tyme and place
trie, but also gif we chance to convene in thair
, and thair the idolateris set befoir us the rema-
idolatrie, that is to say, do pra[ise], defend, and
dampnable superstitioun; and yf thair be in com-

pany with us sic as do not perfytlie understand
ar bound and oblissit to declair oure selves not
neris of sic abominationis, for that requyreth Sa
he commandeth the Christiane to absteane fra
for the caus of Him that hath admonissit him.

Now, Sisteris, judge ye give this text giveth us
pollut oure selves with idolatrie, or to be present
what tyme thay ar at thair idolatrie; na, rathe
dempne us becaus we cry not out in the commoun
idolateris, when we sie oure weak brethrene led
lack of instructioun: this mekill for this tyme.
rejoise in the Lord and eschew iniquitie; be n
Christ Jesus in the middis of this wickit gener
with violence aganis the assaltis of your enemyis;
to flatteries, for the visitatioun of the Lord ap
am zealous over yow, sa stand I in great feir le
the day of this your battell. But, deirlie belovit
of Chryst Jesus, remember the schortnes, yea, t
of all that is heir in the earth, and gif ye have s
mitie, delay not to ryse agane. O, Sisteris, t
and especiallie in abnegatioun of Chryst Jesus,
perditioun, and thairfoir aryse betyme and ren
and strenth, with pacience, salbe granted unto
torie and triumph be Him that hath overcum.
persuad yow that ye may have felowschip with
notwithstanding that we may do in externall
blind of the warld doith, beleive thame not, fo
and blindit be the father of liaris, the Divill, no
awn destructioun, but also to the destructioun o
beleive and follow thair deceavable persuasionis.

Love maketh me fervent, and lack of tyme an
schort and imperfyte. The grace of oure Lord
yow, now and ever. Amen.

Yours knawin,

J

XXXII.

SISTER, MISTRES ANNE LOCKE, WIFE TO MR
CKE, MERCHAND, NYGH TO BOW KIRK, IN CHAIP-
ONDOUN.

all incres of the Halie Spreit for Salutatioun.

ie departing of the messinger maid your letteris
eif, so doith it myne imperfyt and rude; for at
thame, and I being to occupy the publict place
w the messinger was to depart, so that either he
rtit without any significatioun of my remembrance
ellis with theis nothing to purpois. Tuiching
spirituall I mene) feir not to be plane with me,
lie as I wold that God suld distribut to me in
so will I indevour my self to communicat with
Spreit doith teache me within his most sacred
mentyme, I am assureit that ye ar not destitut
reit, for it floweth and giveth witnes of it self in
mplaynt and ernist prayer. Easie it is to think
o pray and to promeis to our selves all gudis
andis, when that his strength uphaldis us. But
is to leif us a litill in our awne weak corrup-
schaw his face angrie aganis sin, then to seik
issis, then to call upon his help, and to appeill
that he declair himself a trew, mercifull, and
towardis us, is the greattest glorie that we can
yea, it is to overcum him, and to be victour over
strenth, whilk albeit we feill not in the present
re than Jacob did in wressilling with the Angell,
the comfort of it when the storme is a litill
r how is it abill that we suld call upon him for
think armit to our distructioun, except that the
f his Halie Spreit moveit us thairto; in suche

cassis hypocrisie hath no place, but the sore br
powreth furth the angusche in the bosome of Him
confess onlie abill to remedie us. But of this mat
I may not now wryt.

Ye wryt that your desyre is ernist to sie me. I
yf I suld expres the thrist and langoure whilk
for your presence, I suld appeir to pass measure
sene yow in prosperitie it wes to me, no dout, comfo
now yf it sall pleas God that I suld sie yow in theis
rous dayis, my comfort suld be dubled, for in prospe
middis of mirth, my hart quaikit for the sorrow
and sum tymis I sobbit, feiring what suld becum of
now to sie yow tryit a litill under this cross, wald ca
greatlie to rejose. Yea, I weip and rejoise in reme
yow; but that wold evanische by the comfort of you
whilk I assure yow is so deir to me, that gif the ch
litill flok heir, gatherit together in Christis name,
peid me, my presence suld prevent my letter.

I have not maid your commendations to the pe
cifeit in your letter, except to my mother and bed
hartelie re-salutis yow, be reasone of the suddane
of the beirer. As tuiching James Young,[1] he left
in Scotland, amangis other thingis whairof he ma
but that is no matter, with the same heart that I
you, I will that ye bruke it, using the same to th
God. Gif ye have occasion to wryt to Mr Hickm
wyfe,[2] your sister and myne, unfeanidlie belovit, s

[1] According to the "Livre des Anglois," it appears that a James Yonge and his wife Anne, were among the persons who came to Geneva early in 1556. The person to whom Knox alludes was no doubt "James . . . . his servant," who came with him and his family to Geneva on the 13th of September. But the concluding part of the above sentence is not very intelligible, and may ha
neously transcribed in

[2] A letter addressed
Hickman and Mrs
chandis wyffis in Lon
viously given as No. X
letter, Knox urges the
stedfast in the truth, ev
of being compelled for
to leave their native co

ny name, and schaw that I will wryt, as God sall
itie. Against the merket in Frankfurd, ye sall
ris (gif God please) more large. Remember me,
with dowbill cairis,[1] in your daylie prayeris unto
he grace of the Lord Jesus rest with yow ever.
, the 19. of November 1556.

Your Brother,

JOHNE KNOX.

XXXIII.

TO MRS LOCKE.[2]

tuall incres of the Halie Spreit for Salutatioun.

ELOVIT in our Saviour Jesus Chryst: Gif power
tie wer corespondent to gudwill, my letters suld
r and breif unto yow; but daylie trubles occuring
y domesticall charge, whair with befoir I haif not
mit, and thairfoir ar thay the more feirfull, as in
atioun of publick thingis aperteaning to the pure
mblit in Chrystis name, do compell me oftentymes
onlie my maist especiall freindis, but also my self
s necessarie to the bodie and corporall health; and
ut not but that ye will accept my rude letteris in
suche tyme as God sall grant me better oportuni-
this mene seasone ye sall resave my judgement
t Temptatioun of Chryst,[3] whilk I wrait being in

speaks of himself as
with double cares," it
ed, that on his return
e month of Septem-
was accompanied by
ory Bowes, and his
Irs Bowes.

"Mr Lock," an evi-
the transcriber.

, this letter is im-
wed by Knox's Ex-
s Doctrine upon the

First Tentations: Mathew, cap. iv. 1 verse"; already printed *supra*, p. 85 to p. 114.

Upon reconsidering the statement given by Field in 1583, of his having received the manuscript from Mrs Anne Prouze of Exeter, (see page 91,) to whom it had been sent by Knox himself, with a letter in the same terms as above, I cannot venture to offer even a conjectural solution of the difficulty, unless "Mrs Anne

Scotland at requeist of some, who befoir, being in
guische, did confes thame selves sumwhat reclaimed
thay said) brocht from the bottome of hell by the
the same. For first I taucht it befoir I did wryt it.
have occasioun, and sum quyetnes, ye may perchan
the rest of the same matter, whilk is not yit all cor
so did Sathan hunt me, upon the one part, and so did
ren crave my deutie to be payit to thame, on the c
that small space was thair grantit to wrytting.

My other letteris, I trust ye haif ressavit or th
which ye may persave my estait, whilk also ye may
this our Brother, deirlie belovit in the Lord, wha
venientlie can expone all thingis that be heir th
wryt. Wer it not that partlie ye ar impeidit be
your heid, and partlie be so gud occasioun as God
offirit yow to remane whair ye ar, in my hart I
wishit, yea and can not cease to wish, that it wold
to gyd and conduct your self to this place,[1] whair
feir nor eschame to say is the maist perfyt
Chryst that ever was in the erth since the dayis of
tillis. In other places, I confess Chryst to be trewlie
but maneris and religioun so sinceirlie reformat, I ha
sene in any uther place; besydes, Sathan, I confe
aganis the ane and the other, but potent is He that
missit to be with us in all suche interprises as we ta
at his commandement, for the glorie of his name and
tenance of his trew religioun; and thairfoir the less w
contrare power, yea, in the boldnes of our God we
contempn thame, be thai kingis, emperours, men, a

Prouze," who, having "lived in exile," and being "no young scholar," could be identified with Mrs Anne Locke, Knox's friend and correspondent.

[1] This wish was gratified a few months later, as on the 8th of May 1557, "Anne Locke, Harrie her sonne, and Anne her da Katherine her maide," ar neva; but within four d find recorded the death o daughter of Anne Loc Harry Locke her husban des Anglois, pp. 9, 17.)

salbe never abill to prevale against the simpill whilk we oppinlie profess. Be the permissioun ay appeir to prevale aganis our bodies, but our phe in dispyt of Sathan. Other caussis move-re your presence, yea, and the presence of all lie feir God, yf possibill wer, I remit to sum ie. This other letter it will pleas yow to send , with my hartlie commendationis to your sister e grace of the Lord Jesus rest with yow.

he 9th of December 1556.

Your Brother to power,

JOHNE KNOX.

XXXIV.

BROTHER THOMAS UPCHER, INGLISMAN, BE VERIT AT BASILL.

ll wype all teiris frome the eyis of his Sanctis.

VIT BROTHER in our Saviour Jesus Chryst, be tting I persave sumwhat of that battell whilk, rt tyme ye war with us, I judgeit yow to fight. ld I, yf so had bene the plesure of our Eternall lkit with yow face to face, than to haif writtin intricat a matter, whilk is not sene to the ex-er yit understand what it is, but onlie be suche nath taught, for by mutuall conferrence many persaved and discussit, whilk by one man can unto, becaus that in wrytting, man can expres m self doith feill and conceave; but in reasson-e compellit to answer the doubtis of his brother, lie doith minister more ampill matter than any ceave at the first. Be whilk consideratioun, I to have writtin nothing at all, judgeing it more

expedient, by ane meane or uthir, to haif provok
familiaritie then to entir to wryt, being uncert
tuiche the poynt of your inward dolour, anguis
yit, considdering that the afflictit (as Job doit
compleane) esteameth it na small benefit when
bowellis of any moveit with compassioun fo
changeit purpois, and thoght gud to scribble the
offer unto yow occasioun efter to be more plan
yf I can not ease any part of your greif, (that is
of Chryst Jesus be his Spreit,) yit I prais my Go
and murne with my brother tormentit. Nothin
more dolorous to the hart of the faithfull, then t
sibill feilling of Godis mercie and gudnes, (an
feilling thairof he lacketh what tyme he fulleli
and repose upon the same,) and yit as nothing n
lie cumeth to Godis children, so is thair no exer
fitable for his soldiaris than is the same.

I doubt not but the one and the other of t
incredibill; for how think ye sall God leif w
his chosin children, and what profit can ense
suche anguisches. But consider, deir Brother,
bill voces whilk the most elect memberis an
Chryst Jesus haiff left to us in testimony of
yea, of thair anguische and paine. In how
doith David compleane that God hath forgot
he seith him not with the eie of mercie; th
and taketh no respect to his dolour and paine
hath forsakin and utterlie cassin him of. J
that God is becum his enemy; that he sett
and saule as a butt and mark, whairat he sc
rowis, tormenting the bodie by plagues corpor
ing the saule by the terrouris of his judgementis
besyd the burdene of his syn, and besyde the ar
whilk was gevin to buffet him, planelie confesse
battell without and feir and terrouris within; w

oith evidentlie witnes, that thai wer destitut of
feilling of Godis mercie, as I am assured that
r of Christis bodie is at a tyme or other. For yf
ith live but by participatioun of the heid, and yf
o is the heid, can none stedfastlie cleif except sic
of thair awn strenth, of necessitie it is that by
platioun of oure selves we ar brocht to the verie
oure awn corruptioun, and sa in the end provokit
e remedie whilk is frelie offirit. That this may
understand, I say, that what the Halie Gaist did
rtis of the Israellitis and otheris, to whom Peter
sermon efter the ressaving of the Halie Gaist,
and in schort process of tyme, the same, I say,
k in us his children all the dayis of oure lyfe;
ai wer be the thundering voces of Peter brocht
ll feilling of thair horrible enormitie, wha had
l consentit to the murthering of the verie Mes-
sa ar we, be the bryghtnes of Godis Scriptures,
s the secreitis of oure awn hartis, brocht to the
dis wrath and anger, whilk be our manifald of-
ie haif provokit against us. Whilk revelatioun,
mpugntioun, God sendeth not to us of purpois to
ut of verie love, be whilk he hath concludit our
stand in Chryst Jesus his Sone; and thairfoir,
and fulische presumptioun, whilk, allace! too
thair awn strenth, justice, and merites, we suld
lie esteame so precious a gift offirit, he suffereth
r awn forces; yea, he suffereth us to sink doun
at unfeanedlie we may cry, Succour, Lord. How
is to us, as no toung can expres, so can not I
tunitie to wryt my weak judgement, neither is it
sarie that so I do, for sumwhat haif I writtin in
dyvers tractatis; whilk yf ye haif not sene, I
on your letter that sum may cum to your handis.
me, Brother, in all thingis, and abhour not the

holsum cup, most bitter I knaw, but yit neces
said, and whilk ye drink not allone. The my
the Lord Jesus assist yow to the end.

Frome Geneva, the 1st of August 1557.

Your Brother to power,

J

XXXV.

TO HIS LOVING SISTERS IN EDINBURGH, JANET A
JANET HENDERSON.[1]

*Grace and peace from God the Father of our Lor
for Salutationis.*

BELOVIT SISTER, with maist hartlie commen
few lynis I have scribled unto yow, to lat yow u
I have ressavit the contentis of your letter. G
of oure Lord Jesus Chryst, make me myndfull of
nefittis, whilk he maist plentifullie poureth upon
you, and all that incall[2] his godlie name, suche
mercie, baith in spirituall and temporall thing
moveit your hartis to schaw towardis me and u
brethrene. In all matteris concerning your cons
at this tyme remit yow to my former letteris, w
commoun betuix yow and the rest of oure Sist
ye ar all equall in Chryst; and thairfoir I wisc
consall, exhortatioun, and admonitioun written
yow, do serve to yow all. In my last letteris t
Janet, I touchit what dewtie the wyfe aucht[3] to

[1] Although the name of Janet Henderson is added in the MS., the letter was evidently addressed to Janet Adamson. She was the wife of "Maister James Makgill of Rankeillour Nether, Clerk of our Soverane Lordis Registrie," w
tober 1579. Janet
lict, and Mr James
and heir, were his e

[2] Call upon, invok

[3] Aucht, owes.

provydit that this oure Brother suld reasone the
with Mr Calvin. Let my letter be considderit,
ithfullie report, and doubt not but he will, his an-
nd uthir particulare articles; and sa I trust ye
erstand what God requyreth of yow. God grant
to obey your maist just petitioun: for prayer is
the power of man. Your husband is deir to me,
a man indewit with some gude giftes, but mair
ne is your husband. Charitie moveth me to thrist
oun, baith for his comfort, and for the trubill
ane be his coldness, whilk justlie may be callit in-

ister, the Prophetis of God are oft impeidit to
as carnallie thay lufe unfeanedlie. This I wryt,
sic thing I find as yit within myself, but that
rteis yow that I dar promeis nothing whairof
nce is not within my awn power. Yf God will
rcisit under that kynd of croce, whilk is maist
to have your heid[1] apoyntit to yow be God for
to be your enemye, with pacience ye must abyd
delyverance, determining with your self never to
iniquitie for the pleasure of any mortall man;
o, your teiris salbe turnit into joy, and the bitter-
olour in sweit comfort, whilk now cannot be felt.
comfort and consolatioun assist yow with his al-
it valiantlie to fight your battell to the end.
ithful of acquentance in my name. The grace of
sus Chryst rest with yow.
is, 1557.[2]

Your loving Brother,

JOHNE SINCLAR.

(This was his mother's surname, whilk he wrait in tyme of trubill.)

" your husband. [2] is evidently a subsequent addition by
ke the explanation of the transcriber of MS. M.
ere printed in italics,

XXXVI.

To Mistris Guthrie, Janet Hendersone.

It is the Lord that giveth strength to the febil

Albeit I have no particular matter to wryt unto vit Sister, uther than I have expressit in my uthir yit I culd not refrane to wryt theis few lynis to yow tioun of my rememberance of yow. Trew it is th many whome I beir in equall rememberance befoir yow, to whome at this present I wryt nothing, eth I esteame thame stronger than ye bo, and thairfoir the less my rude labouris, or ellis becaus thai have no me be thair wrytting to recompens thair remember daylie prayer salbe for yow, that as God hath gevin to assist yow, and hath openit youre eyis sa that ye ca betuix the gude and the evill, that sa it will pleas hi to confirme in yow the spreit of constancie to the mair that ye feill youre awn weaknes, the mair abill veschell ye ar to ressave the grace of God, sa that terminat with youre self to die with Chryst Jesus, rath refuis his knawin veritie; whilk albeit it appeir bitter sycht, yit when the necessitie and frute of it salbe c it salbe found pleasing, yea, and delectabill; for sta all men anis to die, but to few it is grantit in so ju tioun, and with sic honour as to be Chrystis witnes, y be maid lyke unto him self. Gif we suld ernistlie

[1] Janet Henryson or Henderson was the wife of Alexander Guthrie, Clerk of the City of Edinburgh. She must have survived her husband, who died 23d of August 1582, as "Mr James Lowson, ministe son, *Jonet Henryson* his Alexander Guthrie his were the executors of hi

sall follow a transitorie and a momentarie pane,
alleth the afflictionis of this lyfe, thai suld not so
us. The frute is callit lyfe everlasting, the sicht
he fulnes of all joy. All theis ar promissit for the
moment, gif it be compareit with tyme without
ay ar promissit be Him wha can not dissave us.
why feir we so greatlie as that thair wer na
, or yit recompens for the battell or travell of the

bject, I follow not the counsell whilk I gif to
y fleing the contrey declaireth my feir; I answer,
to my exampill; and yit I trust to God that I do
lie against the Word, whilk God uttereth be me.
f this lyfe, or the feir of corporall deth, causit me
nawin veritie, or to do any thing in the eyis of
ycht seame for feir to favour ydolatrie, then wo
ever, for I wer nathing but a tratour to Chryst
ioun. But gif my feir be sa measurit, that it
not to commit open iniquitie, then do I na thing
nsall, whilk is not myne but the express com-
f Chryst Jesus, commanding us to forsake oure
follow him. Yf we knew, I say, what comfort
er the feirfull cross of Chryst, we wald not be sa
up the same. Yf we knew that lyfe is bureit
n his grave, we wald not feir to ga and seik him
We prais and extoll the martiris and sanctis
tionis hath overcum this warld, and yit we having
sioun offirit, do flie frome the battell; yea, and
rie with oure enemyis befoir the battell approche.
nd incessantlie for the assistance of Godis Spreit,
d determinate with your self to suffer with Chryst
en sall ye feill a comfort according to the promeis
us. My awn motioun and daylie prayer is, not
ay visit you, but also with joy I may end my bat-
yow. And assure your self of that, that when

ever a greatter number amang yow sall call upon me[1] hath bound me to serve thame, that be his grace it s the feir of corporall punisment, nether yit of the d porall, that sall impeid my cuming unto yow.

I have writtin ane larger letter to the gentilman c acquentance within that contrie, whilk partlie come acquentance and occasioun, and I have joynit it w your letteris, that by yow it may cum mair sure handis. I pray yow tak pane in that behalf. The suche, that I wald all suld understand of it; thairfoi think expedient. Salut hartlie my familiaris; my m wyfe salut yow. The grace of oure Lord Jesus C with yow.

From oure toun, the 16. of Marche 1557.[2]

Your Brother,

JOHNE SI

XXXVII.

TO HIS SISTERIS IN EDINBURGH.

Grace, mercy, and peace frome God the Father of oure Chryst, with the perpetuall incress of the Halie Salutations.

THE chosin weschell of Chryst Jesus, St Paule, a his ministrie and preaching, not be man, but be the voce of the Sone of God speiking unto him fro aschamit not to confess (deirlie Belovit), that albeit h ernist zeall and desyre to have visitit the congre

[1] As the first invitation of the Lords to Knox for his return to Scotland, only reached him in May 1557, this letter may, without hesitation, be assigned to March 1557–8.

[2] "Oure Toun," is und neva; and the date, l previous note.

in thair greatest necessitie, that yit he was im-
ıan of his jurney and purpois.
eir marvalous strange at the first syght, that Sa-
ve sic power to impeid sic gude and godlie a work
pill desyrit sa ernistlie. Na congregatioun was
ıim nor that was, for that he had begotten thame
ter that he was afflictit, mockit, and rejectit in
places; yit thay notwithstanding receavit the
c joy and gladnes of the Halie Spreit, that thay
ıpill to all the faithfull in Macedonia and Achaia,
ı, obedience, and constancie, was brutit and praisit
is. This thair promptnes and readie obedience
ırystis Evangell, whilk than in many places was
pernicious and wickit doctrine, moveit the Apos-
e to love thame. And moreover, schort efter his
ı thame, Sathan did rais up great truble and
ecutioun aganis the faithfull in that citie, evin be
mpanionis, freindis, and contremen, sa that lufe
ıe ane part for his presence, and thair afflictioun
syd requyreit his assistance in that thair suddane
yit doith he confess, that Sathan did impeid him,
had attemptit once agane to have visitit thame.
y, may appeir verie strange at the first syght.
sall merk and considder, deir Sister, that God
is humill his maist faithfull servandis, disapoynt-
f thair awn interprysis, whilk thay not the less
t for promoting of his glorie, we sall ceas to
begyn to magnifie the providence of our myghtie
lie disposeth the tymes, and allane knaweth the
ıe not in all thingis satisfies the desyres in this
of his deirest children. Assuredlie Paule ernist-
ı have bene with thame in the tyme of thair
ave confirmit thame in the doctrine whilk be-
taucht; and thair estait (as said is) requyrit his
in thair hartis thay did sair lament and bewaill

his absence. But the desyres of neither partie
when thay maist requyreit. But the journey of
was stoppit be Sathan, not in his awn persone, bu
postis[1] instrumentis of iniquitie, wha continewalie
stop the wark of the Evangell, and thairfoir did o
for the Apostill, seiking his distruction, as the di
of the Actis of the Apostills may easilie under
impediment maid unto him be sic as did trubill
call the work of Sathan, saying, "I have purpo
againe to have visitit yow, but Sathan hes imped
that Sathan be himself, or the wirking in his o
dieris, hath or can have any power to impeid t
Chrystis evangell, or yit to withhald spirituall co
afflictit, but in sa far as it is permittit to thame
the permissioun of God, to trubill the elect for a t

Fulischnes, presumptioun, and arrogance it wer t
pair my self with that maist excellent instrument
Jesus, in zeall towards the promoteing of Christis
lufe towards the salvatioun and comfort of my bre
allace! as my hart is corrupt, and the hipocrisie tha
thousand caisis, hid fra my self, sa is my zeall cald
nathing, gif it salbe tryit be the rycht touche-ston
dar I say, that sumtymes (seldome, allace!) I fei
grone, willing that Chryst Jesus mycht opinlie b
my native contrey, with a certane desyre that my
heir it, althocht it suld be with the loss of this w
And of verie purpois to haif visited yow did I leif
gatioun heir, and also the familie committit to r
charge; but the cause of my stop do I not to thi
understand. I maist suspect my awn wickitnes,
worthie of sa greit a joy and comfort, as to heir
trewlie preachit, whair my hart maist thristeth, b
my former unthankfulnes, notwithstanding the
fittis whilk I can not deny my self to have res

[1] Adherents, followers.

l in greatter aboundance, than ever could have
hart to have askit. But what hath bene my in-
is Majestie, wha thus hath promotit me, my awne
not ignorant; and thairfoir, I say, justlie may my
deny unto me that whilk I maist desyre, but also,
to be depryvit of all his giftis, unles his mercie sall
offences. And sa, to punish my former unthank-
y be, that my God maist justlie hath permittit
in my mynd sic cogitationis, as did impeid my
d you at this present: and thay wer theis; I hard
appeirit in that realme, I began to disput with
oweth: Sall Chryst, the author of peace, concord,
, be preachit whair weir is proclamit, seditioun
nd tumultis appeir to ryse? Sall not his Evangell
the caus of all calamitie whilk is lyke to follow?
t canst thou have to sie the one-half of the pepill
s the other; yea, to jeopard the ane, to murther
he other, but above all, what joy sall it be to thi
l with thi eyis thi native contrey betrayit in the
angeris, whilk to na manis judgement can be
us that thay wha aucht to defend it, and the
of, ar sa blind, dull, and obstinat, that thay will
awn destructioun? Theis, and mair deip cogita-
and yit do trubill and move my wickit hart, that
out comfort, sa was I almaist without consall, not
matter, but also in matteris of smaller importance.
at nane of theis dangeris whilk ar befoir expressit,
nt cause or excuse why that I suld not hasard all
estatioun of Chrystis glorie; for gif the Apostillis
ny of theis, thay suld never have preachit Chryst;
billis, and mair grevous also, did ensew the publi-
s Gospell. And it is foirspokin, that sa it must
end of the warld; for alwayis must the reprobat,
f this warld, have sum pretext of excuse, why that
ne lycht whilk is offerit. But thairfoir must not

the messingers of God desist fra thair office. And t
say, I knaw that na cogitatiounis can excuse me befoi
my conscience beireth record, that the salvatioun of
eren aucht to be sa deir unto me, that it aucht to
with the hasard of all that is on earth. But, allac
woundit man, be he never sa expert in phisick or s
can not suddanlie mitigate his awne pane and dolou
can I the feir and greif of my hart, althocht I am
gether ignorant what is to be done.

It may also be, that the doubtis and cald wrytting
brethrene did augment my dolour, and sumwhat
me, that befoir was mair nor febill; for Sathan is
that he can mak the verie elect of God labour and
a tyme to stop the preaching of the Evangell. Wh
becaus thay do neithir of hatred aganis Chryst
of malice aganis the glorie of his name, but eit
tinglie, or els of sum carnall affectioun and inconsid
is not dampnit, but obteaneth pardoun, and sa is
removeit, or ellis gentillie rebukit to repentance
fulische zeill of Peter, labouring to impeid Chry
in persuading him to be mercifull to him self; a
queist of the Virgin, his mother, calling him furt
with hir, what tyme he was maist deligent instr
pepill. I am certanlie persuadit, that whatsoever my
did wryt, did proceid of lufe asweill towardis me, as t
commoun actioun whilk befoir was intended; but yit,
that Sathan did either abuse (God sa permitting
knawin to his wisdome) thair simplicitie and zeall,
feir and weaknes, sa that for that tyme my jurne
yow was stayit.

But na thing do I sa mekill accuse as my self,
iniquitie: desyreing yow thairfoir, deir Sister, with
that thristis the glorie of Chryst Jesus, to be
amang yow, unfeanitlie to call to God for me, th
pleis him of his greit mercie, and for Chryst Jesus

e the rememberance of my grevous synis, and
hart with his principall Spreit, that fra hence
behave my self within his Kirk, that my lyfe be
that doctrine whilk I profess. And I will not ceas
, and for the faithfull in theis quarteris, that day
y incres and grow in faith, zeall, lufe, and pa-
nnit be the mychty power of the Halie Gaist, with
l force, that na assaltis of Sathan, na terrour of
ering promissis of transitorie lyfe, move yow fra
of that whilk anis ye have professit; but that con-
y continew to the end, leiffing unto your posteri-
ony of your perfyt faith, that in yow thay may
to glorifie God, in that it hes pleasit his god-
e your patience, to minister and offir unto thame
lvatioun. And gif theis thingis ye sall earnistlie
o be grantit unto yow for the glorie of his awn
the merittis of his onlie weilbelovit Sone Jesus,
ever shall becum of my wrechit karcas, I am
e persuadit, that the invincible power of Him
andit his Evangell to be preachit to all realmis
sall performe that gud work whilk he hes begun
to the prais and glorie of his greit mercie, and
all comfort, be the meanis of oure Lord Jesus
Omnipotent Spreit rest with yow, now and ever.
lie, in my name, Mr David Sinclar, with utheris
uentance. Superfluous I thocht to wryt to everie
lie; for I suppois that ye will not spair to commu-
ever ye ressave, with sic as may have profit or
by. The grace of oure Lord Jesus Chryst be

toun,[1] the 16. of Apryle 1558.

Your Brother,

JOHNE SINCLAR.[2]

[1] p. 248, note 2. [2] See p. 245.

LETTERS

TO HIS BRETHREN,

E LORDS PROFESSING THE TRUTH

IN SCOTLAND.

M.D.LVII.

STANFORD LIBRARIES

Letters were written by Knox when placed in a
barrassing situation. While he was actively en-
ministerial duties, two of his friends, James Sym
arron, burgesses of Edinburgh,[1] arrived at Ge-
1557, and brought the following letter from the
irn, Lords Lorne and Erskine, and the Prior of
nviting him in their own name, and in that of
, to return to Scotland.

, Mercie, and Peace for Salutation.
beloved in the Lord, the Faithfull that are of
ance in these parts, (thankes be unto God,) are
ne beleefe wherin ye left them, and have a godlie
re, day by day, for your presence agane. If God
we will heartilie desire, in the name of the Lord,
turne againe unto these parts, where ye sall find
l ye left behind you, not onlie glaid to heare your
also readie to jeopard their lives and goods, for
dward of the glorie of God. Albeit the Magis-
ountrie be as yit but in the state ye left them,
ting heirof, we heare of no farther crueltie to be
before. We rather beleeve, that God will aug-
ke, because we see daylie the Friers, enemies to
ell, in lesse estimation, both with the Queen's
th the rest of the Nobilitie of our realme. This,
is the minde of the faithfull present and absent.
ur mindes this faithfull bearer will shew you at

of Sym and Barron
vol. i. pp. 248, 268,
i. p. 322, note 7.

[1] "Quhilk, gif the Spreit of God will sua move and permitt tyme unto yow, we will," &c.—(Vol. i. p. 267.)

lenth. Thus, fare ye weill in the Lord. At Stirlin
of Marche, 1556 [1556-7.]

Sic subscribitur, GLENCARNE
LORNE.
ARESKINE.
JAMES STE

When he submitted this letter to Calvin and th
nisters, they, with one consent, gave it as their opini
he could not refuse that Vocation, unless he would d
self rebellious unto his God, and unmercifull to his
Knox accordingly returned for answer, that he s
them, with all convenient expedition, "so soon as he
order to that dear flock which was committed to his

With this intention, in the end of September, Kn
affectionate farewell of his people, and leaving his
that city, he reached Dieppe on the 24th of Octob
he received tidings which filled his heart with gri
him to the persuasion that the Lords had repente
invitation, and that many of the professed adhere
truth had drawn back, or become faint-hearted in
Under these feelings, he wrote the letter dated on t
that month, which, as it is embodied in his History
here be repeated, as the copy in Calderwood[4] is evid
scribed from the same source, and the original is not
In this letter, Knox refers to his own situation, havi
upon the advice of "some of the most learned an
Europe," complied with their invitation, and left his
flock, he had come so far on his journey, waiting f
vessel that should sail for Scotland. While he upb
for their timidity and inconstancy, he, at the same ti

[1] The above copy is here given from a collation of the MSS. of Calderwood's History. It differs very slightly from the letter as preserved by Knox himself. See vol.

[2] Ib. p. 268.

[3] See vol. i. p. 269.

[4] History, vol. i. p. 32

of the unspeakable importance of the enterprise to
ad already committed themselves; and in further-
cause, he asserts they ought to hazard their own
unes, in order to deliver their brethren oppressed
piritual thraldom.

pectation that he might receive more favourable
Scotland, he continued at Dieppe. Owing to the
d interrupted communications between the two
is quite possible that Knox's acceptance of the
d not been fully made known to the Protestant
ve may infer that this letter had reached Edin-
beginning of December, and that its earnest and
eals were not without effect. We at least find,
3d of December 1557, after consultation had been
eading members, that a common bond or engage-
awn up and subscribed by them, in which they
to adhere to that cause, and use their utmost
advancing the Reformation.

gagement Knox necessarily remained in ignorance,
ressed the following letters, Nos. II. and III., on
7th of December. The one was to his Brethren,
eing an enlargement of a previous letter, which,
ers, probably had never reached its destination;
that in answer to his letters he had received none
th of May. The other, to the Lords, is written
spirit than that of October. It contains such
e thought might animate and encourage them;
s with the exhortation, that while they gave all
nce to the constituted authorities, it was their
ll circumstances, to provide that the Gospel might
ched and the sacraments purely administered.

e to his own conduct in abandoning his intended
otland, Knox took a more doubtful view after his
eva, accusing himself, in a letter already printed,[1]

[1] *Supra*, p. 250.

of having too readily allowed himself to defer his inter
ney. But, as his biographer remarks, "Whatever
secondary causes of this step, I cannot help again dir
reader's attention to the wisdom of Providence, in
impediments in his way, by which his return to Sco
protracted to a period, before which it might have
rious, and at which it was calculated to be in th
degree beneficial, to the great cause that he mear
mote."[1]

Knox appears to have remained for some months i
although, on the 16th of December 1557, the Congr
Geneva did elect him, along with Goodman, "still t
the Ministers." Dr M'Crie quotes an authority to
Knox had become one of the pastors of a Protesta
then formed at Dieppe.[2] This could only have bee
rim appointment, as he appears to have visited Lyon
and other towns, previously to his return to Gene
spring of 1558.

[1] M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 205. [2] Ib. p. 203.

LETTERS SENT TO SCOTLAND.

I.

TO SOME OF THE NOBILITY IN SCOTLAND.

of wisdome, constancie, truth, and strenth be multiplied ou, by the favour of God our Father, and by the grace Lord Jesus Christ.

to my promeis, Rycht Honourable, I came to xxiiij. of October, of full mynd, by the good will of the first shippes to have visited you. . . . .

[See vol. i. p. 269–272.]

Deipe, the 27. of October 1557.

II.

TO HIS BRETHREN IN SCOTLAND.

rcie, and peace frome God the Father, and oure Jesus Christ, with the perpetuall increase of the Halie

dyvers letteris writtin unto yow, deirli belovit Breth- the moneth of May last bypast, I have ressavit na this hour, whilk mair I imput to the trubillis of theis

wickit tymes then to any negligence and oblivioun in
cuming to Deip for performance of my promeis an
tioun of your requeistis, (yf God so permit,) I culd
new sumwhat of my former rude wrytting, the teno
was in effect:

That ye considdering, by the signis foirspokin by
ter Chryst Jesus, (whilk for the maist part ar no
the dayis of this maist corrupt warld to be schort,
foir the joyfull delyverance of that oppressit ar
flock till aproche, may walk in Godis presence, as
his sanctis and chosin children; having your cons
suredlie groundit upon the frie mercie promissit to
full in Chryst Jesus; and also, that your conversatio
men be sic as it becumeth the children of lycht, havi
mony by your fruttis that your faith is not deid. A
is a thing maist acceptabill befoir God, sa is it not
cessarie in theis maist wreachit and wickit dayis. F
never taking tryell of the ground of thair faith, haif
sliddin back, to the great offence of many, opinlie d
eternall veritie of God, the sweitnes and power wha
apeirance, thai never taistit, (whatsoever thairof th
with thair toungis); sa hath the dissolute lyfe of su
professit Chrystis halie Evangell bene occasioun
treame evillis: Former, thairby hath the conjurit
Chrystis treuth takin a boldnes to blaspheme the
doctrine diabolicall, whilk looseth the brydill to all
for the pestilent Papistis perceaving the licencious a
nat lyfe of sum professoures, did not onlie judge the
ber to be lykwyse infectit, but also did nether feir n
to accuse the doctrine as the principall caus of sic
And thus, allace! do we expone the sacred and bli
of God till opprobrie and rebuke by oure inordinat l
secund inconvenient whilk is ensewit of oure ryatous
behavour, is no less to be lamented; for thairby,
began with us to follow God, to profess Chryst Jes

rstitioun, ar declynit frome the sinceritie and sim-
k is in Chryst Jesus; and have separatit thame
the societie and communioun of thair brethrene, in
nabill and maist pernicious; being bold to affirme,
s us thair is no trew Kirk, be reasone that oure
agrie with the Word whilk we profess.

m not ignorant that nether of theis tuo sortis of
hap scharpe judgement, (except be repentance God
thame to better mynd and purpois,) yit ought we,
ne, tak diligent heid that we be not offensive, nether
er to Gentile, as we sall heir and, I hoip, considder
have tuichit whairin this last sort of men do erre.
s I am not thair enemye, nether do I wryt of ma-
any persone; but rather lamenting thair blindnes,
ommunicat with thame the lycht whilk God hath
veillit unto me in Chryst Jesus his Sone. Of sum
rust, I may witnes, as man may judge of man, that
eall toward godlines; but, allace! it is not accord-
edge, for thai do stumbill at the same stone which
Jewis.

purpois, that this sort of men fallis frome the
Chrystis litill flock, with contempt of his sacra-
halie ordinances by us trewlie ministred, becaus
aving knawledge of the treuth, do abuse the
of the same, thay ar abusit and deceavit in tuo
rmer, thay do judge and pronunce of the doctrine
by the lives of the professoris. Secundlie, thay
eatter puritie and justice (denying any trew Kirk
yces ar knawin) than ever was found in any congre-
the begyning. Of whilk tuo errouris must neidis
horribill absurditeis; for first, yf the lyfe of man,
be it bad, wer ether assurance, ether yit any just
oun, of any doctrine or religioun, than was the
atrie of the Gentillis, and the blasphemous Law of
be approvit for gude religioun; and by the con-

trarie, the halie Law and ordinances of God wer and
rejectit as fals and vane; for in the auncient idolatri
most singular vertewis, temperance, and externall ju
live, as faithfull histories do witnes unto us. And
amangis the Turkis, the commoun multitude do liv
strait lyfe in many thingis than Godis Word dois requ
and sum of thame, as concernyng thair externall beha
be judgeit irreprehensibill. But what folie wer it to
allow thairfoir thair dampnabill doctrine and fals
and on the other part, what age sall we find, frome
to Moses, frome Moses to David, and frome David
in whilk iniquitie did not abound, yea, evin in the h
God. Abraham him self, the father of the faithf
Sara his lawfull wyfe, whilk, no dout, was a horribill
was thairfoir his religioun vane? God forbid. The P
movit be invy, sald thair brother; the Israellites,
verance frome Egipt, and efter thai had ressavit the l
idolatrie, grudgit, murmurit, and committit horribil
tioun; David was found giltie in adulterie and mur
finallie, the Halie Gaist doth witnes, by the mouth
Prophetis Esay, Jeremie, and of the rest, that the pe
the maist godlie kingis, and when religioun was in
puritie, then, I say, do the Prophetis witnes that the
maist infectit with vyces, and so continewit till th
captivitie; yea, and efter thair reductioun, thair lyv
thing amend till the dayis of our Savioure Chryst Je
did this commoun iniquitie of the pepill prove or
religioun, whilk was establissit be God and was taugh
thame, to be fals and vane? Far be sic cogitationi
hartis of Christianis.

Farther, lat men considder yf it wes lawfull for
to haif dispysit Godis halie ordinances, apoyntit t
in his assemblie, becaus that wickit men wer p
thairof; yea, or yit yf sic as separatit thameselves
sectis (as did the Phariseis, Sadduceis, and uthiris)

punisment. Plane it is thay did not; for thay all, of tyme, declynyng from the simplicitie whilk God vit be his law and Prophetis, fell in dampnable nd errouris. Sum arrogantlie pretending to be nlie be the workis of the Law, but also be sic con- as thai thameselves had inventit; otheris denying talitie of the saule, the substance of angellis or d the resurrectioun of the flesche; and uthiris con- and refusing halie matrimony. Thus, I say, did ge the contempt of his halie ordinances upon sic as umill thameselves under the same; but devyding s frome the societie of his Congregatioun, pretendit r perfectioun than the law prescrybit.

at everie man suld diligentlie mark this argument of l: "If he (saith Paule) who dispysit the Law of the testimony of two or thrie witnesses, did suffer out mercie, with how greatter tormentis, trust yow, unissit who tredeth under fute the Sone of God, and the blude of his testament as a prophane thing?" f God, who is the wisdom of his Father, hath com- o assembill togidder in his name; he hath apoyntit ord to be preachit, and his Sacramentis to be minis- o be receavit of suche as profess him to be thair ord and Saviour: whilk Sacramentis he hath sanc- not as was the Buke of the Law, with the blude of calves, but with his awn precious blud, anis sched for ptioun; the memoriall and rememberance whairof aitlie commandit us (convenit togidder in his name) to his ganecuming. Theis thingis being weyit, do at suche as contempn this his precept, withdrawing s frome the Congregatioun, whair thai can not deny Jesus is preachit without all mixture, and sacra- istred according to his Word, sall eschaip judge- w the Papistis ar plaguit for the lyke pryd and in- the maist part of men do sie; and evident it is, that

the originall of diversiteis of thair religioun aman
inventit had the same end whilk men now seik, to wit,
not stand content with the commoun justice[1] promis
memberis of Chrystis bodie be faith in him, but thai w
and contend for a greatter perfectioun than the con
leiveris culd have, and thairfoir did thai devyd tha
apart, contemnyng Chrystes flock, and ordinances; bu
halines thai ar atteaynit let the warld witnes. I am
is immutabill, and doith na less abhour the sectaries
than he hath done thois of the former tymes; and wold
suche as most brag of perfectioun in theis oure dayi
gevin so manifest declaratioun of thair awn blindnes a
have done. If any think and object, the Kirk efte
death, Resurrectioun, and Assensioun, is of greatter p
perfectioun then was the Kirk under the Law, for it i
halie and undefyllit Spous of Chryst, without spot and
and thairfoir whair vyces do reign, and be opinlie kn
thair can not be the trew Kirk; lat the same man
that the halie Apostill, yea, the Halie Gaist speikin
did salut and acknowledge the congregationis of
Galatia, and Thessalonica, for the trew Kirkis of Ch
in the whilk not the less wer crymis maist grevous—for
adulterie, incest, stryfe, debait, contentioun, and e
sum had declynit and wer bewitchit be fals Apostillis
nyit the Resurrectioun, sum wer ydill bellies, and su
circumcision efter Chryst, a thing necessarie to s
Trew it is, that the Apostill scharplie reprehendit a
wickit lyfe as the erroneous opinionis, affirmyng tha
sonis, without repentance, culd not entir in the ki
God. But, in the meantyme, he did reverence and
ledge (as I have said) the sam congregatiounis to be
Kirkis of Chryst Jesus; and thairfoir, I say, that n
lyfe, nether the opinioun of particular personis, is (
either sufficient approbatioun, either yit just condemp

[1] Or righteousness.

or religioun. The iniquitie of man declareth him-
kit, but it is not abill to deface the religioun whilk
proved be his expressit Word; for yf sa wer, as
e tuichit, than hath no religion bene sinceir and
he begyning, for that age hath never bene in whilk
id not abound, evin in the bowellis of the externall
ryst Jesus; and thairfoir I say, that the lyfe and
n of man is na assurit note, sign, or tokin of
bill Kirk. But the substance of that doctrine and
ilk is publicklie preachit and universallie ressavit
egatioun, assemblie, or company, doith witness and
ther the Spreit of the Lord Jesus doith thair rule
not. Whairsoever Godis Word hath supreme
hair Chryst Jesus is affirmit, preachit, and receavit
lie Saviour of the warld, whair his Sacramentis ar
terit; and finallie, whair his Word reuleth, and not
tassie of man, thair is the trew Kirk of Chryst
m the societie and ordinances whairof (I meane
ryst hes commandit to be usit) aught na man to
self, notwithstanding that in the same the dornel
eir to surmount the wheit and gud seid.[1] But heir
will joyne thameselves to no congregatioun, except
ilk is perfyt in all thingis, object to us, "But ye
e assemblie of Papistis, and have gatherit youre
npanyis apart." I ansuer, "Just caus have we and
lie frome the sinagoge of Sathan, not onlie becaus
tness of the lyves of suche as thairin be assembled,
becaus that oure soverane captane Chryst Jesus is
phemit, his sacramentis and halie ordinances being
llutit and prophanit be the vane inventionis of men."

Darnel, is a weed that corn: "Let thistles of wheat, and cockle ley."—(Job xxxi. 40.) ave, "*Infelix lolium, et tur avenæ*"—(Georg., lib. i. 154), thus rendered by Dryden:

"No fruitful crop the sickly fields return:
Wild Oats and Darnel choke the rising Corn."

And Shakespeare has, "Want ye corn for bread? 'Twas full of Darnel."

Lat thame convict us and oure congregationis (as
sall be abill to do) of theis crymes, or ellis thai sall n
judgement and condempnatioun, becaus thai do disp
Jesus and his halie ordinances.

But now, deir Brethrene, lat us returne to oure
albeit that nether Papist, nether the other sort, ss
Godis judgement and vengeance, yit it becumeth
beir in mynd the sentence whilk oure Maister b
and his Halie Spreit be his Apostillis, hath pronunc
wordis: "Lat so youre lycht schyne befoir men
may sie youre gud workis, and that thai may glo
Father whilk is in heavin." "Be ye halie as I am
I have chosin and apoyntit yow to ga furth and t
frute." "Ye have not chosin me, but I haif chos
whome I leif my awn exampill, that ye love ane
"For yow I pray (but for the warld I pray not) th
be sanctifeit in the veritie; and the word and doct
ye haif hard and professit is the veritie, be whil
learnit to put of the ald man with his lustis and conc
and to put on the new man, whilk is according to th
Him who hath creatit yow to walk in justice and cl
lyfe; that ye refusing youre selves, may unfeanidlie
obey the gudwill of God, whilk is youre sanctificati
steanyng frome all filthines and impietie, giving oc
sclander and offence to nane, knawing that wo an
tioun is pronuncit aganis sic as by whome sclande
By theis and the lyke sentences, deir Brethrene, it
us to considder the excellencie of our vocatioun, an
and voluntarie obedience whilk we as children aught
to sa loving and gracious a Father, who of his frie
callit us frome darknes of errour, and frome bondage
to the brycht knawledge of his glorie, and to the glo
tie of his sanctis, whois kingdome, and glorie, and jo
apoyntit maist assurit and triumphant with Chryst
onlie belovit. In considderatioun, I say, of this our

cum, and of that excellent oure present dignitie, which assuredlie we possess in hope (for evin now ar we the sonis of God althocht oure glorie be hid), aught[1] we with all diligence watche lest that oblivioun and forgetfulnes of oure God and of his kingdome creip in oure myndis; being also cairfull and vigilant in all assaltis, asweill to try and examyne the infallible signis of oure electioun (whilk thing St Peter calleth "the making of oure electioun sure"), tempting yf we stand in faith, and yf oure conscience do beir recorde that in vane we haif not ressavit the graces of God; as also, that we declair befoir this wickit generatioun, be the frutis whilk we produce, what treis we ar, to wit, the frutfull branchis of the verie vine. And in theis tuo poyntis aught oure principall and cheif studie be occupyit, considdering, first, that without faith it is impossibill to please God; and, on the other part, that the eyis of oure enemyis ar ever bent upon us.

The Papistis ar busie to espy oure offences, faultis, and infirmiteis, to the end that, as said is, thai may blaspheme the blissit Word of the eternall God, by whilk is utterit and reveallit to us his fatherlie mercies, godlie consallis, and frie graces towardis us, whilk as thai never taistit, sa may thai not abyd to be preachit to the warld. But as thai sall beir thair just condempnatioun, becaus thai accuse us, not haiting oure sinis, but haiting oure personis and the veritie we profess, sa ar thai not the enemyis maist to be feirit. For the vennoume and malice of Sathan ringeth in all Papistis (for the most part) is now more evident, evin to infantis, than that it can greatlie hurt any, except sic as willinglie, and with appetit insaciabill, do drink the poysone of that harlotis cupe, either for feir of corporall punisment, or els for hoip of warldlie promotioun.

But in the other sort, of whome befoir we haif sumwhat spokin, the craft and malice of the Divill fighting aganis Chryst is yit mair covert, and thairfoir it is mair dangerous and mair to be feirit; for under the colour and clok of mortificatioun of the

[1] Aught, ought.

flesche, of godlie lyfe, and of Christiane justice, thay
privie blasphemeris of Chryst Jesus, supplanteris of
tie, and manifest enemyis to the frie justification whil
be faith in his blude. For sum of thame do not fei
Chryst Jesus to be the eternall Sone of the eternall
so with Arrius, blasphemouslie denying his Godheid.
affirme that it is impossible but that a man may obey
fytlie fulfill the law of God in this lyfe, in whilk he ma
to as great perfectioun of justice as ever Chryst had.
do hald for a sure conclusioun, that Chrystis justice
us nathing except that we have a perpetuall justice
terme it) of oure awn; and finallie, the generall cons
that sect is, that God, be his foirknawledge, consale,
dome, hath no assurit electioun, nether yit any certa
batioun, but that everie man may elect or reproba
be his awn frie will, whilk he hath (say thay) to d
evill. The rest of thair opinionis,[1] maist horribill and
omit at this present, tuiching onlie for your advertisem
whilk thai think inexpugnabill, and in whilk thai gl
maist precious perlis, forgeit be thair awn braynis, a
be the fynes of thair wittis, when yit in verie deid th
the rottin heresies of Arius and Pelagius, lang ago co
Augustine, and by auncient Wrytteris befoir him.

And of suche teacheris or professouris I beseik
Brethren, to tak heid, for be thame is not onlie the
Chryst Jesus and his dignitie trodin under fute, but al
in effect denyit to be God. For whosoever gois abo
move frome God, ether yit to call in dout his wisdome
knawledge, his justice, power, mercie, gudnes, or frie
goith about, sa far as in thame is, to destroy and cal
his hale Godheid: for yf thair be any thing whilk h
caus, yea, whilk he did not also predestin and apo
lackit he wisdome and frie regement; or, yf any thing
done, or yit efter this salbe done, in heavin or in erth,

[1] The persons here alluded to, went under the general name of A

mycht not have impeidit yf sa had bene his godlie pleasure, then is he not omnipotent. Whilk thrie properties, to wit, wisdome, frie regement, and power, denyit to be in God, I pray yow what restis in his Godheid? But far be sic blasphemous and impious cogitationis frome the hartis of sic as hoip to reign in the kingdome with Chryst Jesus. The wisdome of oure God we acknawledge to be suche, that it compelleth the verie malice of Sathan, and the horribill iniquitie of sic as be drounit in sin, to serve to his glorie and to the profit of his elect. His power we beleive and confess to be infinit, and sic as na creature in heavin or earth is abill to resist. And his regement we acknawledge to be sa frie, that nane of his creatures dar present thame in judgement, to reasone or demand the question, Why hes thow done this or that? But the fontane of this thair dampnabill errour, whilk is, that in God thai can acknawledge na justice except that whilk thair fulische brane be abill to comprehend, at more oportunitie, God willing, we sall intreat.[1]

At this present, I thocht it my dewtie, and verie lufe constreaynit me thairto, to advertise yow that Sathan hath sent furth his messingeris almost in all quarteris, to disperse and sawe abrod theis his pestilent opinionis, and thairfoir in the bowellis of Chryst Jesus, I exhort yow to try the spreitis of suche as sall cum unto you. Suffer na man without tryell and examinatioun to tak upon him the office of a preacher, nether to travell amangest the simpill scheip of Chryst Jesus, assembling thame in privie conventionis; for yf everie man sall entir at his awn appetit in the wynyaird[2] of the Lord, without just tryell of his lyfe, conversatioun, doctrine, and conditioun, as sum, mair to serve thair awn bellies then the Lord Jesus, will offir thair labouris, sa na doubt sall Sathan haif his other sup-

[1] This intention, as will afterwards appear, Knox accomplished in his elaborate work on Predestination, entitled, "An Answer to the Blasphemous Cavillations written by an Anabaptist," which was printed at Geneva, after his final return to Scotland, in the year 1560.

[2] "Wynyaird," vineyard.

postis[1] by whome he purposeth to distroy the verie pl
of oure heavinlie Father; and thairfoir my prayer is
unto oure God, that in this behalf ye be circumspect
and warr. For as the matter and business ye haif
heich, and to the advancement of Godis glorie, and t
comfort and consolatioun of youre brethrene, yf in
constantlie with godlie wisdome ye proceid, sa sall
maist vigilant to trubill and impeid the same, be
possibill; the poweris of the erth sall na dout ganest
and the dissolute lyfe and ungodlie behaviour, perch
of sum preacheris, may sclander and offend the wea
Chryst. But nether of boith (except, as God forbid,
bak frome youre godlie interpryse) do I sa mekill f
assalt of Sathan be fals teacheris or dissembled breth
seldome it is that opin tiranny doith utterlie suppr
realme or province the trew religioun ernistlie res
multitude. And albeit the ungodlie lyfe of preach
tyme trubill the quyetnes of sum conscience, yit sic i
cie of our God towardis his awn elect, that be his H
he comforteth the simpill, and be the power of
Word, in the end, he confoundith the dissemblit p
professour, (I meane him that is the mercinarie, wl
the bellie and not the glorie of Chryst Jesus,) sa th
the opin tiranny, nether yit the clokit and disgysit
can mekill hurt. But dissavabill and fals doctrine is
and vennoume whilk, under the taist and name of ve
dronkin and ressavit, with great difficultie can eft
purgeit; as the Epistill of St Paule, and the hist
ageis, entreatting the estait and matteris of religioun,
us. Yf, thairfoir, the doctrine and persuasion of
tend to the exaltatioun and advancement of any justi
fectioun, except of Chryst Jesus allone; yf any aff
Christiane justice, whilk is avalabill befoir God, be
perfectioun than remissioun of our sinnis, whilk w

[1] Followers.

onlie faith in Chrystis blude; or yf any promeis suche perfectioun in this lyfe, that unfeanedlie we neid not to say, "Remit to us oure offences, for we ar unprofitable servandis;" and finallie, give any persuad that oure merittis, gud workis, or obedience, be any caus either of our Justificatioun, or yit of oure Electioun, lat him be accursit, suppois that he wer ane Angell frome heavin; for he preachith to us another Evangell then the Sone of God hath reveallit to the warld, and the Halie Gaist hath seillit up to us, be the mouthis and wryttingis of the Apostillis, whilk planlie affirmeth, "That thair is na uthir name gevin to men under the heavin in whilk thai may be saveit, except in the name (that is, in the power and vertew) of Jesus crucifeit, wha is maid to us frome God, justice, wisdome, sanctificatioun, and redemptioun;" be whome allone we have acces to the throne of Godis mercie; as be ane onlie propiciatorie and obteaner of grace to us that of nature be sinfull, the flesche (evin efter oure regeneratioun) ever rebelling aganis the spreit during the travell of this lyfe, in sic sort, that with the Apostill Paule, the rest of Godis children ar compellit to confess, "That in thame, that is in thair flesche, thair remaneth na gude;" and thairfoir eschame thai not to confess (and that opinlie and frome the hart), "That not of the workis of rychteousnes whilk we have done, but of His meir mercie and grace, who loving us when we wer enemyis, did give to the deth of the cross his onlie Sone for us, ar we savit." And farther thai acknawledge, that this salvatioun doith not proceid of our workis, nether yit that it was apoyntit till us in tyme, but that befoir the foundatioun of the warld was laid, did God elect us in Chryst Jesus, that we suld be halie and blamless befoir him be love, by the whilk he loved us evin when we wer deid in sin, and did predestinat us, and frelie chois us to be his inheritouris with Chryst, according to the gud pleasure of his will. Sa that we ar his creatioun, creatit in Chryst Jesus to gud workis, whilk God hath preparit that we suld walk in thame, so that throcht grace, and that be frie and undeservit favour, ar we

saveit, be faith, nether of our selves, nether yit of
lest that any suld glorie. But all the children of
knawledge and confess, that salvatioun and the lyfe
ar the gift of God the Father, frelie gevin with
Sone; as the 24 elders, casting thair crounis befoir
sitteth upon the throne, with ane voce doith cry, giving
prais to him, in theis wordis: "Worthie art thou,
receave glorie, honour, and empyre, for thou was
hast redemit us, and hes maid us to oure God pr
kingis." This doctrine, I say, hath the Halie Gaist
unto us, whilk Sathan from the begyning hath impu
now in theis last dayis most cruellie doith he rage
no occasioun be the whilk he is abill to deface th
that what he can not do be opin tiranny, that he tr
bring to pas be fals doctrine and errouris dampnabl
Sathan continewallie laboureth to intromedle, and
what proceiding frome us, besydis Chryst Jesus and
in the caus and matter of oure redemptioun and salv
nathing to him is mair dispytfull than Chryst Jes
trewlie preachit, and constantlie affirmit to be the onl
of the warld. For that Word of veritie, being the
God to the salvatioun of all thois that beleive it, is
subversioun of his kingdome; and thairfoir he, ou
enemye, the ald serpent, persaving his heid to be bru
power of Chryst Jesus sa preachit, that he allon
knawin conqueror, doith now spit furth his deidlie
and ferslie steireth his terribill taill, to the end tha
trubill for a tyme the verrie elect, and utterlie bli
noume, and disceave thois whos namis ar not writt
Buke of Lyfe.

But my hoip is gud of yow, deirlie belovit in
Jesus, that evin to the end ye sall continew in
trine whilk anis ye haif professit, notwithstanding
windis of unstabill and disavibill opinions be blowi
earis; and also, that ye sall proceid and marche forw

battell begun, (Remember, I beseik yow, with what conditionis we did first break bread togidder in the name of the Lord Jesus,) whatsoever impedimentis be preparit in yow contrair; that so doing, at the last ye may atteane to the participatioun of that kingdome, the possessioun whairof is not gottin but be the suffiring of many tribulationis. The mychtie power, illuminatioun, and grace of the same Spreit, who rasit frome death the Lord Jesus, the great Bischop of oure saulis, move, illuminat, and inspyre your hartis, sensis, and understandings, that cleirlie ye may behold the length, breid, the hecht and deipnes of that lufe of God our Father, schewit and confirmit to us in Jesus Chryst; and sa lychtin the eyis of your inward man, that continewallie ye may contemplat the unspeakabill ryches of that glorious inheritance, prepareit for sic as beleive and profess him in the presence of men, and of this wickit generatioun; that ye, in deip considderatioun of the same, may contempn and dispyse the disceavabill and transitorie pleasuris that be present, in a sure hoip to possess with the Lord Jesus Chryst thois thingis that be permanent and eternall. Amen.

This letter is mair ampill than was that whilk I sent first, and thairfoir, notwithstanding the copies of the other, I pray yow provyd that the doubill of this be sent to oure brethrene in Kyle, and to utheris that sall requyre it. The Grace of the Lord Jesus rest with yow.

Frome Deip, the first of December 1557.

Your Brother to command in godliness,

JOHNE KNOX.

III.

To the Lords and others Professing the Truth in Scotland.[1]

The secreitis of the Lord ar reveallit to thois that feir him.

The Halie Gaist, be the mouth of David and Salomone (Rycht Honorabill Lordis,) for tua reassonis, calleth "The feir o the Lord, the begynning of all Wisdome:" First, becaus withou the same, all that apeireth to be wisdome perischit, and mais commounlie turneth to the perditioun of thois that ar esteami and do esteame thame selves most wyse; for wisdome natural not reullit nor brydillit be the feir of God, as it is but extream fulischnes, sa is it a poysone and vennoume maist deidlie, whil in the end commounlie bringeth the warldlie wyse to warldli confusioun, as the experience of all ageis haif taucht us; whai be the contrar, the feir of the Lord preserveth his servandis i thair greattest extreamiteis evin befoir the warld. But this i not the cheif caus why the feir of the Lord hath the foirnami titill; for evident it is, that not onlie the warldlie wyse ani suffer deth and cum to confusioun, but also, as David dois wit ness, evin thois that altogether be fullis and enrageit with mad nes; yea, it is statute to all men anis to die. But becau that whair the feir of the Lord is anis deiplie graftit in th hart, that thair also is the graceis of the Halie Spreit from tyme to tyme addit to the farther instructioun, comfort, an confirmatioun of Godis chosin children in all godlines; thairfoi it is justlie and cheiflie callit "the begynning of wisdome," b whilk man atteaneth to eternall felicitie, and so doith eschai deth and confusioun. For this is the conclusioun of the Hali Gaist maist certane and infallibill, That whair God of hi

[1] Calderwood refers to this as "a prolixe letter to the Lords," and inserts the concluding portion of it i his larger History, vol. i. p. 323.

great mercie and infinit gudnes anis begynnis to tuiche the hart with his trew feir, and as it wer to change it frome the naturall rebellioun to gif unfeanid reverance to his halie Majestie, that thair He will (yea, evin aganis the puissance and rage of the portis of hell) performe the work of oure Redemptioun, to the manifestatioun of his awn glorie, and to the everlasting joy of thois to whome he apoynteth his Halie Spreit scolemaister and instructour.

And albeit that this His favour and fatherlie cair be commoun to all his children in thingis aperteaning to lyfe everlasting, (everie ane receaving sic portioun and measure of his grace as His wisdome knaweth to be expedient for finisching and confirmatioun of that gude work begun,) yit in distributting temporall benedictionis, his Majestie takis maist especiallie cair upon thois whome he hath determinat and appoyntit to be reularis, comforteris, and manteaneris of uthiris. To Joseph he gave not onlie favour in the eis of strangeris in tyme of his bondage, but also in his young age he did schaw unto him maist notabill visionis, to the perfyt understanding and knawledge whairof did nether his father, nether yit him self, fullelie atteane many dayis efter. To Salomone, lykwyse, war superaboundantlie gevin ryches, honour, and warldlie rest, besydis the wysdome whilk he requyrit. And to Daniell, abufe all mortall men of that age, was gevin the knawledge and revelatioun of secreit and hid thingis to cum. Whilk singular priviledgis (in whilk thai did far excell thair brethren) did not sa mekill serve for thame selves as for the commoditie and profit of uthiris, to whome God maid thame instructoris, reularis, defenderis, and stewartis; for the interpretatioun of dreamis and visionis gevin unto Joseph did mair profit the commoun-welth of Egipt than it did serve for his eternall salvatioun; and the same may be said of thois notabill prerogativis gevin to Salomone and Daniell; for be the felicitie of the ane was the pepill of Israell living in his age repute blissit, and be the revelatioun grantit to the othir, is the hale Kirk of God

this day assureit of thingis bypast and that ar to
thairfoir, I say, that sic singular and rare previl
graces ar gevin to a few for the comfort, instructiou
fence of many.

But ane thing is to be heir merkit and diligen
observit, whilk is this, that befoir all theis supe
graces, we plainlie may persave that the feir of
plantit in thair hartis. For in Joseph we may es
tred of sin and iniquitie whilk his Brethren commi
fer as he reveillis the same to his and thair Father, v
ritie he judgeit sufficient to have repressit the same.
mone we sie ane desyre of wisdome, whairby he m
and governe with equitie and justice the pepill comm
charge. And in Daniell doith evidently appeir the h
feir that he had to pollut and defyle him self with
bidden be the law of the Lord his God. And this,
the feir of the Lord is the begynning and continewa
dome: of Wisdome, I say, whilk is worthie the nam
dome, and is the maist singular gift of God gevin
whome he purposeth to work any notabill work to
But farther must I admonische, that I meane not
onlie wha haif theis singular previledges or reve
secreit thingis gevin unto thame, immediatlie gev
have in thair hartis his trew feir, and that na uth
hath any motioun thairof; but I meane also, that
hartis God dois sa molifie and move, that with rev
resave the consall and admonitionis gevin unto tham
messingeris, and do determyne with thame selves t
halie will reveallit unto thame, albeit the same ap
pass thair power or ingyne. Thais men, I say, ho
that ever thai appeir to be of God, can not be judg
ther emptie and voyd of his trew feir, nether sall tha
tut of wisdome and power to performe tha thingis
requyreth of thame. For in sa fer as Pharo di
thingis that wer not sene, and at the consall and

ment of Joseph did mak provisioun for the danger whilk the naturall man culd nether haif beleivit nor feirit; in sa doing, I say, he did declair him self mekill to esteme the messinger of God, by whais spreit, power, and providence war sic thingis not onlie revealit, but also suld be performit and brocht to pass. Whilk thingis I meane, to reverence Godis messingeris, hartlie to embrace and studie to obey the preceptis and charges whilk thai give, to studie also to magnifie God and to mak his providence and wonderous workis knawin unto men, can na man do frome ane unfeanid hart, except that sum spark of Godis trew feir rest in the same. The lyke is to be notit in Nebuchadnezar, who being the golden heid and onlie monarche in the erth in his dayis, eschamit not to stoup and to fall doun (heiring the interpretatioun of his awn dreames) befoir the feit of Daniell, and opinlie to confess that thair was na God wha reuleth the heavin and the earth except the God of Israell. And, moreover, he did not onlie promote Daniell, being a stranger, captive, and prisoner, above all the princes of his realme, but also, at his request, the King promotit till honouris and offices his fellowis, and was beneficiall to the rest of the Jewis than afflictit in his dominionis: Whilk confessioun, obedience, lufe, and liberalitie did, no doubt, spring frome the secreit and hid feir of God whilk was plantit in his hart, and, no doubt, had sum rute in the same, when he appeirit ignorant of God, and greattest enemie to his pepill. What farder graces and commoditeis (not onlie to thame selves, but also to many uther) did ensew this thair obedience, the Halie Gaist doith not conceill. For by the ane, to wit be Pharo, was not onlie his awn pepill fed and preserved in the dayis of famyne, but also be that godlie provisioun maid in his realme was the lyves of many othiris preservit; yea, the lyves of the haill Kirk of God whilk that day was knawin to be upon the erth; I meane of Jacob and his houshald. And albeit that Nebuchadnezar did fall, and in many thingis offend maist horribillie, yit still we find that the mercie of God did sa overcum his malice, that

efter long punisment and dejectioun from all honouri
restorit agane, not onlie to the forme, reassone, an
standing of man, (of the whilk he was depryvit for
but also to his former dignitie, honouris, and impyr
great manifestatioun of Godis glorie, and to the maist
eruditioun, admonitioun, and comfort to uthiris. I
eruditioun and doctrine was preachit to the warld be
licatioun of his confessioun, and of the maist wonder
of God declarit upon him, whilk he did notifie to man
and nationis [which heirtofoir] wer drounit in idola
did live without any perfyt knawledge of the livei
what admonitioun mycht, and this day may and sul
reularis and princes ressave be his punisment; and wh
lar comfort is left to penitent synnaris in his maist
restitutioun to honouris agane. The matter, I say, ca
expressit be the wit or ingyn of man; and thairfoir
I say, that whairsoever the trew feir of God is plant
heart, that thair sall also efter be addit wisdome a
graces, necessarie and profitabill not onlie to the rec
also to uthiris. But this rute of vertew and wisdome
feir of God I mene) being absent fra the heart, as tha
na obedience whilk is acceptabill unto God, nether yit
to his messengeris of any lang continewance, sa can th
wisdome to searche and seik for thinges profitabill, n
grace to follow Godis will how manifestlie that ever
veillit. But rather ar the hailsum consallis and adm
gevin for reformatioun of manifest iniquitie, and also
porall commoditeis and conservatioun of realmes and c
wealthis, not markit nor perfytlie understand, or e
Godis messingeris do planelie speik to princes and
thair consallis and admonitionis ar disdanefullie co
The consall, na doubt, of Moses to proud Pharo had
the salvatioun of him self and to the saifgaird of his p
efter many plaguis he culd haif gevin obedience. B
sone did lang schyne befoir the blind, so in the end

all lycht and wisdome, was he and his armie, in thair cruell rage, drounit be the watteris of the Red Sea.

The admonitioun and counsall of Jeremie to King Zedichias, (althocht it apeirit scharpe, for he commandit him to rander and subject him self in the power of the King who beseigit him,) yet had it not bene a litill profitabill to him and to that commounwelth yf he had obeyit and followit the commandement of the Prophet. But becaus the King and his consall in the end agreit to follow thair awn imaginationis, and sa to rebell aganis God and his messenger Jeremie, the ane and the other, I mene the King and his counsallouris, did taist the bitter cupe of Godis vengeance, whilk sa oft was pronuncit be the mouth of the same Prophet, for the eyis of Zedikias was compellit to behold his consalloris, yea, and his awn sonis slane in his presence, and immediatlie was his awn eis put out, sa that ever [efter] that he never saw lycht nor comfort in earth. Jerusalem was brunt with fyre and the haill land was laid waist, and all this calamitie came upon thame becaus the counsall of God, proclamit be his Prophetis, was mockit and contempnit. And yit in this maist miserabill and universall visitatioun, mercie was schawin to sic as feirit God, and had bene obedient and schawin mercie to his Prophet; for besydis the multitude, whilk at the commandement of Jeremie did subject thame selves to the King of Babilone, and sa was saveit from that present vengeance, Abedmelech, the Black More or Ethiopiane, be whois intercessioun and bald requeist unto the King, the Prophet was delyverit frome death and prisone; and Baruche, the scryb, be whome was writtin and presentit to the Prince and Counsalloris the sermonis and preacheingis of Jeremie; these two, I say, in the middis of that samyn fyre of Godis vengeance whilk consumed many thousandis, found favour and grace, and did obteane thair lyves for a prey.

Theis thingis I breiflie tuiche, Rycht Honorabillis, not sa mekill to instruct yow, as to animate and to incorage yow in that maist godlie work whilk anis ye have purposit. Ye wer of mynd

(and my gude hoip is that so ye yit remane) to j
hasarde in the cause of Chryst Jesus, and for the d
your brethrene frome this Babilonicall and Antich
dage, your lyveis, your honouris, and whatsoever y
vit in temporall thingis of Godis handis. This m
communicattit with me, and I, as I must answer
sence of the Lord Jesus, hath gevin unto yow suc
his Halie Spreit assureit me is for the manifestati
glorie, and also to your eternall comfort, what s
and blude do judge in the matter; as in my former
fullie is expressit. But this your former purpose,
sall also, notwithstanding, gif the trew feir of G
sum rute in your hartis, all is vane and labour l
this one thing I will, that assuredlie ye persuade
that the fludis sall cum, the windis sall blaw, the
tempestis sall aryse, and with violent rage thai al
assalt your fortress, and than, except ye be buil
sure rock, Chryst Jesus, who hath commandit y
your selves and to follow him, impossibill it is tha
mane constant in your godlie purpois, but in a
your haill building and house be overthrawin; fo
blude can not deny the self, nether yit can it be
indure and abyde the fyre of afflictions, except tha
victit of the awin infirmitie, and thairfoir be str
confirmit by the power of ane other. For this ord
maist commounlie keip in apoyntting and sending
best and maist approved soldieris; first, to deject
all confidence whilk thai may haif, ather in thame
yit in the arme of any man, and thair efter, to er
thame up in boldness of his strenth, and by the frie
his mercie, sumwhat dois he remeid the trubill
science. And this dejectioun, humiliation, and
thameselves, he worketh baith in conscience and i
of warldlie power; he embassis[1] and beateth do

[1] "Embassis," humbleth, degradeth.

science, openyng the eyis of thair myndis that thai may behald the misereis of thair awn nature, and thair just condempnatioun whilk thair synis deserveth. In deip contemplatioun whairof, God bringeth thame, as it wer, to the portis of hell, to ane unfeaned hatred of thame selves and of sin, (and this is the first entres to the trew feir of God;) but in this estait he leaveth thame not, but manifesting to thame his undeserved love and favour in Chryst Jesus, his onlie Sone; he releveth and sumwhat raseth up thair conscience, sa that in all assaltis thai rest upon his frie mercie. Thus did he beat doun the pryd of Peter and the confidence whilk he had in his awn strenth; and the glorie also whilk Paule had in the justice of the Law; and yet was the ane apoyntit preacher to the Jewis, and the othir cheif Apostill to the Gentillis. And sic as it [pleasit] God to apoynt to delyver his pepill oppressed be warldlie calamiteis, he commounlie doith sa intreat for a lang seassone, to the end that thai haif na cause to glorie in any thing aperteaning to the flesche. For albeit Moses in his youthheid was nurischit in Pharois hous, yit befoir he was knawin to be the apoyntit messinger of God for the delyverance of Israell afflictit, he was fourtie yeiris banissit, yea, and aschamit not to keip the scheip of his father-in-law. The lawe and sempill estait of Gedioun, the contempnit youth and infancie of David, ar not conceillit by the Halie Gaist, to instruct us; first, that the eye of God in apoyntting of his messingeris, luketh not to suche thingis as the warld maist esteameth; and secundlie, to beat doun the arrogance and pryd of all flesche, that na man glorie of sic workis as God dois work by him whome he hath chosin fra the dounghill (as David speaketh) and placeit him with the princes of his pepill, without all merit or deserving of thame selves, ather yit of any of thair progenitoris.

The same I mycht prove be more exempillis; but theis historeis I may not apply, least that I be compellit to exceid the measure of a missive. Thais that thus be taucht of God,

and be plane and cleir sycht of thair infirmitie a
nature, ar unfeanidlie moveit to rest upon the po
and upon his frie and undeservit mercie, have
to tyme augmentatioun and incress of his Halie
wisdome in aboundance, joynit with constancie, mi
thame in the middis of all afflictionis, to performe th
whilk in Godis name thai begyn. And so potent
sumtymes work, evin be sic as haif sum tymes app
and of na estimatioun, that by ane he comforteth,
and delyvereth many thousandis. Gif ye haif ta
spreit (Ryght Honorable), and by the motioun
putt your handis to the Lordis work, then, wha
creature imagyn in your contrair, yit sall ye so pro
the end ye salbe callit the blissit of the Lord. F
labour to suppress Godis glorie sall leif thair name
tioun to the posteritie following, sa sall thois that
seik to promot the same have thair names writti
in the Buke of Lyfe, but also sall haif thame hei
registrat in speciall recommendatioun. But in
I wische your eyis to be singill, behalding onlie in
pryse the glorie of God, your dewtie, and the salvat
brethren.

But now, na farder to trubill yow at this present
advertise yow of sic brut[1] as I heir in thir partis
noysit; whilk is this, that contradictioun and rebelli
to the Autoritie be sum in that realme. In whil
conscience will not suffer me to keip back fra yow
yea, my judgement and commandement, whilk I
with yow in Godis feir, and by the assurance of
whilk is, that nane of yow that seik to promote t
Chryst do suddanlie disobey or displeas the establis
in thingis lawfull; nether yit, that ye assist or fort
for thair awn particular cause and warldlie prom
trubill the same. But in the bowellis of Chryst Je

[1] "Brut" or "bruit," rumour, report.

yow, that with all simplicitie and lawfull obedience, joynit with boldnes in God, and with open confessioun of your faith, ye seik the favours of the Autoritie, that by it (yf possibill be) the cause in whilk ye labour may be promotit, or at the leist not persecuted; whilk thing, efter all humill requeist yf ye can not atteane, then, with oppin and solempn protestatioun of your obedience to be gevin to the Autoritie in all thingis not planelie repugnyng to God, ye lawfullie may attempt the extreamitie, whilk is, to provyd, whidder the Authoritie will consent or no, that Chrystis Evangell may be trewlie preachit, and his halie Sacramentis rychtlie ministerit unto yow, and to your brethren, the subjectis of that Realme. And farther, ye lawfullie may, yea, and thairto is bound to defend your Brethrene from persecutioun and tiranny, be it aganis princes or empriouris, to the uttermost of your power, provyding alwayis, as I haif said, that nether your self deny lawfull obedience, nethir yit that ye assist nor promot thois that seik autoritie and pre-eminence of warldlie glorie, yea, of the oppressioun[1] and distructioun of uthiris: I mene of him[2] wha in the begynning of his autoritie and government began to profess Chrystis treuth, but suddanlie slyding back, became ane cruell persecutour of Chrystis memberis, a manifest and oppen oppressour of all trew subjectis, and a manteaner of all mischevous men; in whilk horribill vyces he and his factioun and assisteris, I mene his neirest kinesmen, cheifest consall to this day, do continew, and malign according to thair power, whilk God of his just judgement sall schortlie suppress. For not onlie the blud of thois constant martiris of Chryst Jesus, Mr George Wischert,[3] simpill Adame Wallace,[4] and of uthiris whilk did suffer for Chrystis cause onlie, but also the

[1] In Cald. MS., "suppression."

[2] James Duke of Châtelherault, Governor of Scotland. In the History of the Reformation, under the year 1543, (vol. i. pp. 93–105,) Knox has given some interesting details of his early inclination, when elected Governor, to favour the reformed doctrines, until the arrival from France of his bastard brother, the Abbot of Paisley (afterwards Archbishop of St Andrews), who obtained such a pernicious influence over him.

[3] See vol. i. pp. 154, &c.

[4] Ib.

blude of thois whilk, under the titill of civill crymes,
injustlie sched, sall cry in the earis of the Lord of H
just and open vengeance be pourit furth upon all
soucht the same; but cheiflie upon him that then wa
ritie,[1] except that unfeanid and speadie repentanc
Godis judgementis. I salbe judgeit scharp; but be
nissit to flee all confederacie with that generatioun; f
and wryt in the presence of Him befoir whois eyis th
his sanctis is so precious, that no warldlie power was
abill to manteane lang, or defend sic as delytit in
ding of the same. And thairfoir, unto sic tyme as
signis of repentance in thame, I say yit agane, a
great familiaritie with thame.

That now I persuade yow to gif lawfull obedien
Autoritie, is nothing repugnant to that whilk I wra
tuiching the warre begun; for a greit difference thai
lawfull obedience, and ane feirfull flattering of prince
injust accomplischment of thair desyres in thingis wh
quyrit or devysit for the distructioun of a comm
But this article I omit for this present.

The mychtie Spreit of the Lord Jesus reule your
the trew feir of God, open your eyis to considder you
and give yow strenth to execut the same. Amen.

From Deip, the 17th of December 1557.

Yours to command in godlines,

JOHNE

[1] The Governor was superseded in his authority in April 1554, when the Queen Dowager was app gent of Scotland.—(Vol. i

AN APOLOGY

FOR THE PROTESTANTS

WHO ARE HOLDEN IN PRISON AT PARIS:

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH;

WITH ADDITIONS,

M.D.LVII.

STANFORD LIBRARIES

NOTWITHSTANDING the fierce and sanguinary persecution of the French Protestants or Huguenots, during the reigns of Francis the First and Henry the Second, their numbers greatly increased, and congregations had been formed in the chief towns of France. It is, however, only one special and aggravated instance of such persecution which requires to be noticed in connection with the following Apology.

On the evening of the 4th of September 1557, from three to four hundred persons, of all ranks, had assembled for religious worship and the celebration of the Lord's Supper, in a private house in the Rue St Jacques, at Paris, nearly opposite the College du Plessis,[1] and having the Sorbonne behind. The number of strangers who were accustomed to meet in this place had not been overlooked by the priests[2] connected with the College. Having long been on the watch to discover the cause of such meetings, they, on that occasion, collected as many of their own faction as was possible, and sent to apprise the ordinary guard of the city of an unlawful assembly; every precaution being taken to prevent any of those within the house escaping before the guard should arrive. In the meanwhile, no effort was made to interrupt the devotional exercises, and it was only when the assembly, near midnight, were about to disperse and return quietly to their own homes, that a murderous attack was made upon them, and the cry raised which collected multitudes

[1] The College du Plessis, in the Rue Saint Jacques, was founded in the year 1322. The foundation consisted of forty scholarships; twenty for students in grammar, ten for students in philosophy, and ten in theology.

[2] In the original, "Prestres boursiers de ce College du Plessis."

from all quarters with arms,[1] as if to oppose a formi
of thieves, robbers, or conspirators. But the mob f
were Lutherans, as the Protestants were still call
only the more infuriated and thirsted for blood.

This unexpected attack occasioned great consterna
the faithful. Most of them might have escaped i
ness of the night, but to prevent this, lanterns had
out of the windows in the adjoining houses. Th
exhorted them to patience; and after they had joine
it was considered which of two courses should be ad
one was, to wait until the magistrates and civil autho
arrive; but in this case, to make, as would have bee
an open confession of their faith, was, as it wer
step to death. The other was, to attempt to forc
through the multitude. Knowing, it is said, the
of the Parisian populace, the latter course was
Such of the men as had swords marched first, to
sage for those who were unarmed. After various
though attacked on all hands with showers of la
with pikes and halberds, and although the streets
caded, numbers escaped as by miracle from the mi
assailants. There still remained in the house n
females and children, and a few men, when the King
of the Châtelet,[2] named Martine, arrived with his co
and other officers to investigate the cause of this tu

[1] After the important fortified town of St Quentin was taken by the Duke of Savoy, the people had continued in a state of alarm, and were enjoined to provide themselves with arms, in case of any sudden attack on Paris; which explains the cause of this mob becoming so formidable.

[2] The Court of the Châtelet was suppressed at the era of the French Revolution. This tribunal was of a very ancient date; and the court was established in an ancient fortress at the northern extremit
au Change. It is m
charter of Louis VII.
The Prevôt of Paris
to an ordinance issued
in 1254, *chef de justice*
and Philip-le-Bel, in
for this court eighty
eighty *sergens à pied*, an
judges, called *auditeur*
it was to examine wit
tory of Paris, vol. ii.
London, [Paris,] 1825,

arrival prevented these helpless victims being put to death; and upon learning the peaceful object of this assembly, for the purpose of reading the Scriptures in their own tongue, of joining together in the worship of God, and of partaking the Holy Sacrament, he was moved with compassion. To avoid their brutal ferocity, the King's Attorney wished to keep the females and children within the house, until the mob should disperse. But their rage only the more increased, threatening to set the house on fire; and after having been besieged for nearly six hours, the whole number, amounting to upwards of one hundred and twenty persons, were with difficulty conducted to the Châtelet, their clothes torn off their backs, their hair dishevelled, their persons covered with filth, and themselves called by the most opprobrious names. In this state they were consigned to the low, damp, confined cells of the prison,[1] which formed part of the building in which the sittings of the Court were held.

Such is the account given by the author of the "Histoire Ecclesiastique des Eglises Reformées au Royaume de France," originally published anonymously at Antwerp, "De l'Imprimerie de Iean Remy," 1580, 3 vols. 8vo. This work is usually ascribed to Theodore Beza, and the republication at Lille, in 1841, in 3 vols. 8vo, bears his name as the author; but the work, for the most part, was compiled by Nicolas de Gallars, one of the Ministers of the Genevese Church, who himself at that time made a narrow escape.[2] He refers to his having had access to the original records of the criminal proceedings which then took place; but the substance of what he states had probably appeared in one of the early editions of the "Histoire des Martyrs." The prisoners were subjected to the greatest privations and sufferings, although many of them were ladies of rank; and the vilest reports were circulated respecting the object of such as-

[1] The description given of some of the dungeons, presents a most revolting picture of cruelty.—(History of Paris, vol. ii. p. 364.)

[2] See Dyer's Life of Calvin, p. 26. Lond. 1850. 8vo. It is not improbable that Beza may have had some share in the earlier portion, but there is no doubt that the work was continued and completed by De Gallars.

semblies. Their friends who had escaped used every endeavo to procure their release. For this purpose, they solicited t aid of the Protestant Churches in Switzerland, and in oth quarters; but the King was inexorable; and in order to in midate the rest, three were selected for trial, and condemn to the flames. These victims were Nicolas Clinet, aged sixt one of the overseers or assistants to the ministers of that co gregation; Taurin Gravelle, an advocate, through whom t use of the house in which they assembled had been obtaine and Philippe de Luns, a young lady, whose husband, the Sei neur de Graveron, had died of a fever a few months previous Every attempt was made by some learned Doctors of the Sc bonne to induce these victims or the other prisoners to a reca tation; but they remained steadfast, and encouraged each oth to submit to their approaching fate. On the 27th of Septe ber, the sentence was carried into execution in the Place Grève, the two men being burned alive, the young lady, aft scorching her feet and face with torches,[1] out of compassi being first strangled. They met their fate with Christian fo titude, the lady, in particular, displaying the greatest chee fulness, and even "assise dessus le tombereau, monstroit u face vermeille, et d'une excellente beauté." Two others, Nich las le Cene, who had only the day of the assembly arrived fro Normandy, and Pierre Gabart, from Poictou, suffered the san fate on the 3d of October; the Cardinal de Lorraine urgi the execution of the whole of the prisoners.

It can excite no wonder that the report of such procee ings should have excited the commiseration of Protestants other countries. A deputation was sent from the Swiss Ca tons; but it was chiefly owing to the intercession of the Elect Palatine that the French King, unwilling to alienate the affe tions of his allies at that juncture, consented that the prisone should be treated with some degree of leniency; and after sev ral months' imprisonment, they were at length set at libert

[1] In the original, "apres avoir esté flamboyée aux pieds et au visage."

Before this took place, an Apology in their name was prepared and printed, for the purpose of vindicating themselves from the atrocious calumnies which had been circulated, and of informing the people of the truth of the doctrines which they professed.

This Apology was so written, says De Gallars, that the Doctors of the Ancient Church were brought forward as defending the same cause which they had themselves maintained in common with those who were then denounced as heretics. Some of the eloquent passages selected from Tertullian, and the other early Christian Apologists, were indeed singularly applicable to their case. This little book,[1] it is added, is inserted word for word in the "Acts of the Martyrs," and proved of inestimable benefit, by removing from the minds of the people the evil opinion which they entertained of the objects of such religious assemblies, while it excited others to make more careful inquiry concerning that doctrine.

The work referred to was the "Histoire des Martyrs," by John Crespin, originally written in Latin, but translated and continued by Simon Goulart, having, like Foxe's great work, passed through several editions. The edition consulted bears the following title: "Histoire des Martyrs, persecutez et mis à mort pour la Verité de l'Evangile, depuis le temps des Apostres jusques à present. Comprinse en Douze Livres, &c. Nouvelle et dernier edition, revuée et augmentée, &c. A Geneve, 1619," large folio. The Apology is introduced with the following notice:—

"*Apologie des Chrestiens.*

"Il y eut une autre Defense faite et imprimée, pour servir en commun à tout le peuple, et lui faire aussi entendre la verité

[1] No copy of this Apology, in its original and separate form, has been discovered; neither have I been able, from Paris, to obtain any account of two little works mentioned by Brunet, in his Manuel du Libraire, viz., "Histoire des Persecutions et Martyrs de l'Eglise de Paris. Lyon, 1563," 8vo.—(Vol. v. no. 22,442, &c.) "Dialogus quo multa exponuntur quæ Lutheranis Gallicis acciderunt, 1573," 8vo.—(Ib. 22, 445.)

des choses susdites. Ceste Defense estoit briefue, e
dressée que les Docteurs de l'ancienne Eglise y est
duits, eux mesmes defendans ceste cause, qui leur
commune avec nous. Car il sembloit, que ceux qu
leur porter honneur, deuoyent estre satisfait par
sans qu'il fust besoin d'user de Defense plus lon
avons bien voulu la mettre ici de mot à mot, afin
posterité puisse conoistre que telles assemblées p
parole de Dieu, ne sont destituées de justifications."

("There was also another Defence prepared and
serve in common for all people, and to let them und
truth of the matters above related. This Defence
and drawn up in such a manner, that the Doctors
cient Church were introduced as themselves maint
cause which they had espoused in common with
seemed that those who professed to honour them,
satisfied by this means, without any occasion of usi
Defence. We have therefore preferred to place it
for word, in order that all posterity may know, that
blies for hearing the Word of God are not devoid o
of justification.")

"Ce petit livre fut d'une fruict inestimable; et
coup de gens la mauvaise opinion qu'ils avoyent des
et incita mesme les autres à faire plus diligentes enq
vraye doctrine."—P. 470.

("This little book was of inestimable value, by re
the minds of the people the bad opinion which they
of such assemblies; while at the same time it exc
to make more diligent inquiries into the true doctri

It is then stated that certain Doctors of the S
deavoured to answer this Apology; the first, name
chi (in Latin, Demochares), one of the Inquisitor
upon a doctoral resolution, without bringing forward
to substantiate his assertions, insisted that as
ought to be put to death. Another, still more

ll the most hideous crimes and heretical doctrines
magine, charging them indiscriminately upon those
sed the Reformed doctrines; and exhorting not only
princes to exterminate such heretics, but inciting
to kill them without the formality of any judicial
s. The third, named Cenalis, Bishop of Avranches,
ame course, but with less vehemence than the other
ong other points in his book, he had a dispute,
usement plaisante," concerning the signs and tokens
Church; and he concluded that the Romish Church
ue Church, because it had the advantage of clocks
while in the false Church, pistols and arquebusses
ost usual sounds.

these occurrences, Knox had taken leave of his flock
and had reached Dieppe in October, with the inten-
ceeding to Scotland. This object, as we have seen,
poned, and his heart being filled with grief at the
of the French Protestants, he prepared for publica-
llowing Translation of their Apology, with a Pre-
otes, or Additions, for the purpose of informing his
n of such cruel proceedings. Knox states, that the
of it was translated "by a faithful Brother," because
er labours. The translation is very literal; and as
he MS. are occasionally mutilated, or not very legi-
ight defects are thus the more easily supplied. He
om Dieppe, 7th of December 1557; but no trace of
tion has been discovered, and it is probable that
uent liberation of the prisoners may have served to
less necessary.
w printed for the first time, and it forms the con-
icle from the Manuscript Volume in the possession
. Dr M'Crie, which has proved of such essential
furnishing materials for the earlier portion of the
Works.

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ACE BY KNOX TO AN APOLOGY FOR THE PROTESTANTS
ARE HOLDEN IN PRISON AT PARIS.

onis of this lyfe are not worthie of the glorie whilk salbe vit upon [unto] us. Also the fervent desyre of the crea- abydeth, lukeing when the sonnis of God sall appeir: use the creatures ar subdewit to vanitie aganis thair —ROMA. 8.

fflictit for rychteousnes sake (deirlie belovit in our Chryst Jesus) did any thing in that age, rejoise in des of the Apostell, as no doubt thai greatlie did, l mair aught we to be ravischit with joy, and to be in our battell in the deip consideratioun of the same. lo not we onlie behald the deid and insensibill crea- ect to vanitie, and thairfoir (as be him we ar taught) e, and with sorrow do travale, with languisching, ne glorious delyverance of the sonis of God, in whilk lso be delyverit from the bondage and thraldome of n. But also we may most cleirlie perceave the mych- of the Spreit of the Lord Jesus, so to fight aganis w raging in his memberis, the blind, cruell, and blude- antis of this earth, that whatsoever the Divill devy- me to suppress the glorie of God, and to torment his d chosin children, that the same redoundis to the nifestatioun of his glorie and of his favour towardis ris, and to the oppin schame and confusioun of Sa- of his kingdome. For now it is not necessarie that we bukis of ald and famous wrytteris to understand and t was the blind furie and beastlie tirannye of their secutouris, who schortlie efter Chrystis Ascentioun

did trubill his Kirk; nether yit what was the in
cience of sic as than professit him and his doctr
sentlie oure eyis may behald and oure earis may
and the other sa evidentlie, that sic as ar not mov
and avowe Chryst Jesus and his trew religioun in
erthlie poweris, declair thameselves to have small
Mat. 10. kingdome promissit to thois that perseveir and
battell under his standert to the end. For as a
the malice of Sathan, and blind crueltie of prin
abound in sic sort, that the rage and tirannie of
in respect of this beastlie furie, may have sum fa
and mercie; for albeit his crueltie was incredibill i
yit find we that Paule under him and his Judgeis
speik and to defend his cause in sic sort that Chry
Act. 24. preacheit and knawin, not onlie in the Emperouri
also in the Judgement hall. But now, allace! ha
so possessit and blindit the hartis of obstinat pr
thair cruell judgeis, that the cause of innocentis
heard, but as scheip, without cryme committit, th
the butcher; yea, (whilk passeth all crueltie) the t
as no man was ever abill to convict of blasphemie
or of injurie spokin against thair nychtbouris, ar c
be cut out, to the end that the pepill sall not heir
the Divill and his servandis in that declaring
more to feir the toung of the suffereris, then oure
suffereris do the tormentis and the fyre.

As theis afflictiounis, I say, be feirfull and
doith the consolatioun and power of the Halie G
potentlie with the suffereris, that yf the lyke h
to us, written be oure fatheris, with great difficu
haif beleivit the same. For thois sclaves of
Doctouris of Sorbon[1] and thair adherentis ar sa

[1] The College of the Sorbonne, founded for secular ecclesiastics, became, as the Theological Faculty of Paris, celebrated throughout Europe for their lectures and putations. The severa of theology in the So until the Revolution.

dome of God proceiding evin frome the mouthis of
ıd children, that thai dar not suffer thair toungis
no not evin (as I haif said) when thai ga to suffer
deth, to the tormentis whairof do oure brethren
is offer thair bodies with so joyfull and glad coun-
that the verie enemyis thameselves do trembill at
ence. And thus doith oure God so potentlie work
vn weak soldiouris, that suche as do not sie his godlie
nifestlie fighting aganis the tirannie of oure adversa-
ir than blind. But to the end that better ye may
d both the mercies of oure God declareit to his af-
the malice of Sathan now furiouslie rageing in theis
I haif thocht gude to mak a schort Rehersall of thois
ilk have happinit to oure Brethrene and Sisters at
the moneth of September last bypast, and since to 1557.

in everie notabill Citie within France thair be assem-
Congregationis of sic as haif refusit all societie with
ge of Sathan, so wer (and yit ar) dyvers Congrega-
Paris, and kirkis having thair learnit ministeris for
Chrystis Evangell, and for trew ministratioun of the
amentis institut be him. The brute whairof being
ɔd, great search was maid for thair aprehensioun, and
ccording to the pre-disingnit consall of oure God, who
ntit the memberis to be lyke to the heid, the blud-
ɔlves did violentlie rusche in amongis a portioun of
impill lambis. For thois hell-houndis of Sorbonistis,
yit with the rascall pepill, and with sum sergeantis
for thair purpois, did so furiouslie invade a halie
convenit (nye the number of four hundreth personis)
the memorie of oure Lordis deth, that the soldiouris
ıcissis of the preistis, comprehending Chryst Jesus, in
thame may be justifeit for men ryghteous and peace-
thai had autoritie and commandement of the upper

Power (althocht it was wickit) to apprehend Chryst
theis had none but the instigatioun of thair captane
Thay murderit and injureit none, but at Chrystis
ment permittit his Discipillis to depart: But theis,
ing wolves rageing for blud, murderit sum, oppre
schamfullie intreatit both men and wemen of great
knawin honestie. Thay finallie careit Chryst, whon
apprehendit, first to the presence of thair preistis
did present him befoir a judge, whair libertie was
declair his innocencie: But theis cruell tirantis
murdereris, as thai have permittit libertie of toung
by poysone haif thai murderit dyvers in prisone.
not this the end and chief poynt of thair malice;
children of thair father, wha is the autour of all l
nent did spred abrod aganis theis sanctis of God a n
full and horribill sclander, to wit, that thai conveni
nycht for no uthir cause but to satisfie the filthie l
flesche: And this was not brutit be the rude ar
pepill, but a Cardinall[1] (whais ipocrisie nevertheles
to cover his awin filthines[2]) eschamit not opinnlie a
to affirme that maist impudent and manifest lie; ad
over, (to the further declaratioun whais sone he wa
the hous whair thai wer apprehendit eight beddis w
when in verie deid in that place whair thai did co
cept a table for the Lordis Supper to have minister
for the preacher, and bankis and stullis for the ease
auditouris,) no preparatioun nor furniture was
proved, not evin be the verie enemyis.

A Gentilwoman of Gascony with hir tuo daughteris.

But as that pestilent generatioun taketh libert
cise thair vennomous toungis in all dispyt and
aganis God, sa sall he, according to thair iniquit
recompence thame; yea, and presentlie he doitl

[1] Charles, Cardinal de Lorraine, one of the uncles of Mary Queen of Scots.

[2] See notes in vol. ii. pp. 318, 319, to the account which Kn of "The Masque of which "horrible villan nal was a chief contrive

this schort and godlie APOLOGIE, composit be rene in prisone aganist sic calumniatoris, sall in- ; to whilk being translatit in the Inglische toung ll Brother, I have thocht gude to add sum Notis, that the simpill Readeris (who be not exercisit found sentences of the Doctouris, whois wordis be llie rehersit without any applycatioun,) may the erstand that oure cause is ane this day with the e primative Kirk. And albeit that oure enemyis eit thair titillis and namis, that yit Sathan hath not it his nature, but that he beireth the same malice yst Jesus and againis his trew kirk that he hath e the begynning, finding his ald instrumentis the is of the erth joynit with ipocrytis no less obedient hai haif bene of ald dayis. And yit notwithstand- veth sic graces to his afflictit in theis stormes, that aucht to be moveit in his cause. For amangis tuo nd mo[1] whome thai have lang pynit in prisone, and dyvers thai haif put to deth in maist cruell maner, ll to constreane nether man nor woman to this day O praisit be God for his unspeakeabill graces so estowit upon oure Brethrene, who, besydes thair , whilk is wonderous, declareth suche comfort and tenance in the middis of thair tormentis, that Godis nifestlie espyit. Amongis uthiris, God now of lait so triumphit in the deth of a tender chyld of sax- of age, that the verie blind pepill ar compellit to t the mychtie power of God worketh above nature ufferreris, and opinlie fighteth aganis oure enemyis. gentilman condempnit to be brunt quick, was laid ner of a rowe[2] above the fyre, his face upward; but ude pleasure and providence was, his toung was not

THE FORMER AND MAIST PART WAS TRANSLATIT BE ANOTHIR, BECAUS OF MY OTHIR LABOURIS.

The Princes and Preistis, wha pretend to governe the Pepill, of all othiris ar maist obedient to the Divill.

s reckons the prisoners 140; "jusques au nom- ept vingts."

[2] From the French *roue*, a wheel, employed as a mode of punishment.

cut out, but a great pece of wood was put in his m
with a cord behind his neck. When the fyre l
brunt, that the cord was consumit and so the stick
his mouth, he began, when na lyfe apeirit to ha
maist comfortabillie to sing the Fourtie Psalme of
ing this begynning, "Pacientlie haif I abiddin th
is eternall, and he hath inclynit himself unto m
heard my cry. He hath delyverit me frome the horri
frome the [pit] of dolour, and hath placeit my feit
rock. He hath put a new song in my mouth, ye
geving unto oure God: many seing this sall feir th
put thair trust in him. Blissit is the man that sett
in the Lord, and turneth not unto the proud, and
go about with leis." And did so proceid unto the
Psalme, at the last verse whairof he renderit his spr
bene without pane, to the great and maist singula
all faithfull, and to the feir, confusioun, and scha
cruell tirantis. And thairfoir, I say, deir Brethren
that we aught not to be discorageit suppose that
rage aganis us; for stronger is He who by grace wo
Psa. 91. than is that deceaving Spreit of iniquitie, whilk t
and blindeth the haill warld. For albeit we appei
without all comfort and consolatioun for a tyme,
end of oure battell be sic, that we sall knaw and fe
that the promeis of oure God is not vane, who say
thois that feir me will I be in trubill, I sall delyver
thai sall glorifie me."

To His halie name be prais and glorie befoir hi
tioun. Amen.

YNNETH THE EPISTILL OF OURE BELOVIT BRETHERNE
SISTERIS, HALDIN IN PRISONE AT PARIS FOR THE PRO-
OUN OF CHRYST JESUS, WHAIS HALIE SPREIT COMFORT
E, AND MOVE US TO FOLLOW THAIR GODLIE BALDNES.

a great greif to thois that leid ane upright lyfe to be
weildoing, and thairfoir upon just cause tak pane
air innocencie knawin, by a mair strong reasone thai
out to walk in a gude conscience befoir God, and to
purelie according to his Halie Word, aught to haif
s persit and throchtlie[1] woundit, when for the seiking
od thai ar not onlie tormentit in the bodeis, but also
it and overwhelmed with sclanderis and horribill re-
the hurt of thair fame and defaceing of thair inno-
or the sclander aganis thame dispersit, is not to be
esteamit as is the evill report in other commoun
but rather as thocht in thair personis the Name of
lasphemit, and his Halie Word evill spokin of throw
reportis. And further, Sathan hath so blindit the
ilk maist is to be lamentit,) that men salbe weill heard
n defence when the matter that is in questioun salbe
is of this earth: but yf God and his service be anis
estioun, then sall the earis of men be so stoppit,
cusit sall find no place to reassone his cause be it
st; but all maner of accusatioun, how fals soever thai
eceaveit, and the myndis of men salbe so occupyit
d and rage, that whasoever can devyse aganis the
God the maist detestabill cryme salbe best heard.
the begynning hath bene the subtilitie of Sathan,

[1] Thoroughly. [2] Such.

(who is father of leis,) as to bewitch the ha
intent the servandis of God may be conden
caus why, knawin. Lat us reid the compl
maid aganis his backbyteris, and we sall fi
sa great a greif to him to be banissit out o
dryvin away frome his familie and gudis, net
in his bodie, as to sie and heir himself sc
reportis; becaus that thai whilk persecutit
thameselves aganis him onlie, but also aga
had obeyed. And thairfoir, having no place c
sone to assist his caus, he resortit unto G
chargeing all his cairis and trubillis; not le
whyle [to] put the same in wrytting, to the
nocencie suld efter be knawin for ever, and t
God mycht thairby tak exampill to be const
him. The lyke haif the Christianis and M
mative Kirk done; the whilk haif rycht weill
injureis whilk we at this day do susteane (f
we haif commoun with thame) is no new
malice and practise of Sathan; and thairfoir
to be abaschit but rather rejoseit, labouring
cencie knawin as thai did. And that albeit m
yit must we plead oure cause before God,
theis persecutouris and sclandereris sall a
bukis salbe openit, and that whilk now lyet
maid knawin.

Now we haif to do with two sortis of me
of us; the ane sort is ignorant, and the
dome, learnyng, and prudence, and yit ar
God and his knawin Word than be the
rant sort ar careit and led away with a
desyre nothing ellis but oure blude, and to s
in pouder. Thay easelie persuad thames

[1] "To sie us in peces;" literally translated from the original,—"Et ne demandent que voir en pièces,

an of us, and thairupon judge thai that thai may and say aganis us (and sic as we ar) what thai will. to speik of the crueltie that baith the great and the sit within theis xxv. or xxx. yeiris towardis the chil-l. But now, of lait dayis, men may perceave, that th kendillit the self mair and mair, in sic sort that a pepill haif sufficientlie declaireit in thair furie efter hai have bene moveit aganis both men and wemen d; yea, evin aganis Ladeis and Gentilwemen of enoune, the whilk uthirwayis thai durst not have face but with feir and reverence. But as theis a thing mair nor the rycht service of God, and be- without any schame at all, even sa, without any tait or birth, thai haif laid violent handis upon the and without any autoritie of justice thai have thame the tyring of thair heads, defyllit thair faces and filth, and cruellie and schamfullie have spoylit air garmentis, jewellis, and ringis; and all this ecaus men may do what thai will to Chrystianis ll Lutherianis[1]): I will leave, I say, to speik of theis serve unto another argument; and I will speak or tua of the sclanderous reportis and fals crymes lay to the charge of theis honorabill personagis, behaviour and chaist lyfe is sufficientlie knawin. schameles a malice, (I speik not this to thame of the nlie, but rather to the greatter,) thus aganis thair nce to pronunce of thois whilk wer never atteyntit of sic faltis, but rathir have schynit in godlie iallie since God hath lychtinit thame with the his Word, that thair honestie is sufficient be the all thair mouthis that speik evill of thame. Can inchantit be the Divill, thair father, wha is the fa- clanderis, and authour of all falsheid, that sa im-

within the parenthesis Apologie."

[2] "Of the lawer sort," of the inferior degree.

pudentlie eschame not to lie. But otherwayes can t
aganis the veritie then with suche weaponis and a
prasit be God that the lyfe and act of thois per
prufe thame lieris, that thair sclanderis sall tak
amangis thair lyke.

Nevertheles, to the intent that many simpill pe
lycht of credit, and yit not led with so commo
may not be abusit, we haif thocht it gud thus
thame, with a breif gathering togidder of certa
of the auncient Doctouris of the Kirk; whairby
that sic detestabill crymes in tymes past have
the charge of the Christianis, to the end that
tioun and wordis may this day serve for oure De
thois that sclander us. And seing we all mante
same cause, we haif thocht it meittest, in gatherin
tences, to speik rather by thair mouthis than by
that the rather thairby it may be knawin of what
ar whilk persecut us. The same sentences sall s
aganis the wyse, whilk knaw weill yneugh that we
ouslie blamed; but yit cease not to charge with
raschenes and lack of discretioun. Now thai sall
reiding of this that followeth, that we haif takin n
us, but according to the exemple of the auncient
and halie Martyris, whilk in tyme of persecutioun
blit secreitlie together, and oftin in the nycht; an
blissit of God in all thair so doingis, althocht thai
persecutioun. Reid thairfoir, in Godis name, t
with discreit judgement, and be warnit be sic e
the intent ye be not careit away be fals reportis,
ceavit be the judgementis of men.

The end of the Epistill to the Reider.

THE WORDIS OF TERTULLIAN IN HIS APOLOGIE OR NCE FOR THE CHRISTIANIS AGANIS THE GENTILLIS.

A godlie wrytter liveit the yeir efter Chrystis nativitie anno 216.[1]

be not lawfull to mak it opinlie knawin what be the
ıt be laid unto the Christianis charge, and yf the ma-
n be so great towardis thame, that it will not suffer
be heard in thair awn defences, at the leist way let it
for thame, by thair secreit letteris, to mak the trewth
The whilk thing thai desyre notsamekill for thair
becaus thai understanding in what estait thai stand,
e selves to be strangeris upon erth, and thairfoir
easie a thing it is for strangeris to haif enemyis;
ure enemyis to be sic as condemp oure cause and heir
ısing to heir that whilk, when thai haif hard it, thai
ll to condempn. Thair is nathing mair wickit than to
whilk a man knaweth not. Why is it not lawfull
ollow that whilk aught to be knawin, and being anis
l not be haitit as now it is? Trewlie thair apeireth
lt in men, in that thai cry everie whair that thair
besiegit becaus of the Christianis; for becaus, say
n may sie of everie sort, age, conditioun, and estait,
hame the name of Christianis. But yit, nevertheles,
that moveth thame to blame thois pepill, is not in
me weyit and considderit; yea, and the blindnes of
th the greatter in judgeing us malefactouris or offen-
r asmuche as the evill doeris and offenderis sall haif
is hard, debaittit, and defendit, onlie the Christianis
e sufferit to speak the thing whilk may mak thair
e understand; neither may thai defend the trewth

Christianis ar strangeris upon this erth.

The multitude of Godlie men ar the benedictioun of the erth, and yit ar thai haitit.

inal has:—"Ce docte
remier entre les Latins
e Grace 200." He was
age, about the year 160,
and had distinguished himself by his attainments, before his conversion to the Christian faith.

whairby the judgeis mycht be stayit frome fai
ment.[1]

Cap. 2. "This fals report runneth abrod, that the
kill and eat children; and that thai commit m
domes; yea, the judges go about to compell than
what opinioun thai be of, althocht that be fo
Empriour Trajane, whairof Plinie the Secund ha
(This Plinius, callit the Second or the Younger,
of Bethinia, who, moveit be compassioun, se
murther of Christianis, did wryt, as heir is ex
Empriour Trajane, who gave charge that na
sitioun nor persecutioun sall be maid aganis t
whilk yit was not observit, as Eusebius wryteth,
the Secund hath this written:[2]) 'That efter lo
inquisitioun and searche of the maner and be
Christianis, nothing els culd be found or aproved
but that thai assemblit together in the nycht, t
Chryst, and unto God, and to confer togidde
utterlie forbidding all maner of hurdomes, adu
uthir kynd of vyce.'

Cap. 3. "Seing that the veritie it self is altogeth
Advert if the same be not done this day. whairwith untrewlie men charge us; for thair la
bring furth the autoritie of the lawis, the whilk t
be revokit.

Cap. 4. "Now, when men say that we aught not to
live, thay declair thairby alredie thair wickit ma
and thairin follow not the professioun of the l
and violence. For as tuiching the law; yf I f
to be gude whilk thy law forbiddeth, by that p
not forbid me to do the thing that is gud; y

[1] In the "Apologie," "et qui empesche le juge d'estre juste,"—(and which hinders the judge from being just.)

[2] In his remarkable and well-known letter, *De Christia*
Liber x. Epist. 97.

[3] This sentence
thesis is not contai
logie."

ycht it aught to forbid it; yf thy law have errit, I
ith Tertulian) he was man that maid it, for plane it
ot doun frome the heavin. Is it to be wonderit that
in making of lawis? Or aught it apeir a strange
at by reformatioun wickit lawis be maid of none
oith not daylie experience teache sufficientlie, that
ent lawis ar removed and done away by the new
aid; whairfoir it followeth, that neither the noumber
nor yit the autoritie of the law-maker, maketh the
out onlie equitie and justice."

ADDITIOUN.

eis wordis it is plane, that albeit the law maid of men
thing whilk is gud in the self, yit ought it not thair-
judgeit evill; nether yit aught any man absteane
t whilk is gud, supposing that man be his law con-
e same. And be the contrarie, evill be lawis appro-
not yit change the nature, nether yit is it excusabill
d, albeit men consent to iniquitie. Followis the rest
ttin:

at yf the law be unrychteous, of verie rycht it aught
ne away. But how observe thai the law whilk do
us? Yf we have done any thing aganis God and
es, why ar we not heard? Thair is no law that re-
or forbiddeth any man to haif that cause debaittit,
g hard is abill to defend the self; and thair is no
judge that will condempn untill he knaw first what is
that the law forbiddeth; nether yit can thai knaw
l first thai knaw what it is that is condempnit by the
rby it is manifest, that that law is to be suspectit that
uffer the self to be examinit; yea, and that it is un-
yf unexaminat it stand in any force."

Let the Papistis advert and answer thir reasone of this godlie wryter.

The Additioun of Johne Knox, For the better applycatioun of the Doctou to oure Tyme.

In theis former wordis of Tertulian, it is easie t
what was the estait of the trew Chrystianis in his ty
creuellie thai wer murtherit, thair cause never hea
horribill reportis wer spred of thame, and no plac
tioun nor defence was permittit unto thame; but it
a sufficient caus of death gif any was namit, or w
himself, a Chrystian. When the simpill pepill wer a
did ask the benefit of subjectis, whilk law permittit
to wit, that thai mycht speik in thair awn defence,
victit of sum notorious crymes by testificatioun of uns
sonis, befoir thai suld be adjudgeit to death or torn
this, I say, thai requyrit of judgeis, it was answerit, T
tianis aught not to be heard in judgement, neither s
permittit to speik in thair awn defence, because th
mane lawis have defynit the contrarie. And fart
answerit, that because thai wer despysers of the Rom
and of the auncient Religioun, that na man augh
thair reassonis, either yit to entir with thame in di
I call to record (yf men will not speik) the heav
earth, and the unreasonabill creatures thairin conte
same be not the conditioun and intreatment of Ch
servandis this day, and yf that oure adversareis be
to the same blindnes whairin the former idolateris w
The difference standeth onlie in this, that the per
oure dayis have usurpit the name of the Kirk and c
Christianis, and have imposit upon us the names of I
Sismatickis, and Heretikis. But heirto I schortlie a
neither the name falslie usurpit, neither yit wrangful
doith justifie or condempne the matter befoir God;
prufe be the wordis of my maister Chryst Jesus, th
ing aganis the Jewis, who blasphemouslie had in

Eusebius and utheris do witness.

Difference betwene the auncient Idolatoris and Persecutoris of oure tyme.

dius name of Beelzebube, and proudlie had usurpit to
ves the name of Abrahamis seid and childrene. Thus,
Chryst reassone aganis thame: "I have no divill; but Mat. 12.
my Father who hath sent me." "Yf ye wer the sonis Johne 8.
am, ye suld work the workis of Abrahame; but now
he workis of youre father the Divill, whois desyres ye
was a manslaer frome the begynning." Heirof it is
hat as a name wrangfullie imposit against innocentis
hurt thame in Godis presence, so a name falslie usur-
albeit it aperteane to thame be liniall descent,[1] or be
n, and approbatioun of men,) profitteth nothing whair
s ar found contrarious to the titillis. The questioun
veit betuix us and oure adversareis, What glorious
ai haif usurpit to thame selves, or what odius names
imposit upon us? But heirin standeth the contro-
t nether ar thai sic as thai pretend, nether yit sic as
and superstitious fulischnes of men haif lang beliveit
be, nethir yit ar we sic as we ar accusit; for this at
we offer to prufe, that the Scrybis, Phariseis, and
f the Preistis, wer not so far degenerat frome the fut-
Abraham, and frome the puritie of the law gevin to
nd to the pepill by him, as oure adversaries, who
cute us, ar sliddin frome the puritie of Chrystis doc-
frome the simplicitie of his Apostillis and primative

hair oure adversaries do continewallie cry, against
ought na man to disput, for former lawis haif con-
hame, and that thair religioun, confirmed be consent
minatioun of consallis, aught not to be callit in doubt. The schot-anker and cheif reassonis of Papistis.
st I answer, Yf libertie may be permittit unto us to
sone of oure faith, we dout not to prove oure selves to
ir heretickis than Paule confessit him self to be, to
so we worschip the God of oure fatheris, that sted- Act. 24.
beleive whatsoever is writtin in the Law and Pro-

[1] In the MS. "dissent."

phetis, and that we do moreover observe in religio
ever the Halie Gaist hath sanctifeit by the Word
Jesus, or by the practise of his Apostillis. And to t
I say, That yf any law condempn a man befoir ex
and knawledge of his cryme, that the authour, de
mantener of that law is the Divill and not God.
hath expresslie commandit that no man die except
convictit of sum cryme worthie of deth by the m
witnessing of tuo or thrie witnessis. Now, sa it i
caus whairfoir we ar condempnit and cruellie perse
never yit bene debaittit in presence of any judge, in
France or els whair, whair that Romische Antichr
dominioun. Neither hath any cryme worthie of d
proved aganis us; for as concernyng thair religioun,
cry is vilependit and dispysit be us, we gladlie confes
thair accusatioun, giveing most hartie thankis unt
of his great mercie hath instructit oure hartis and
the eyis of oure myndis, to understand and sie the
abominatioun of the same. But yit we affirme, th
tempt of thair Religioun is no juster cause of death th
was the contempt of the auncient Idolatrie in the d
Primative Kirk; for the ane and the othir hath c
tioun, to wit, the devyse, braine, and consent of m
adversaries thame selves can not deny; for better a
thair religioun haif thai not, then is the consent an
nationis of Consallis, in whilk gif thai alledge that
Gaist was President, and did reule; we answer, fir
that article is difficill to be provin, so must it haif
nessis than thame selves; and, secundlie, we say, Tha
Gaist can not be contrarious unto the veritie of G
ther anis pronuncit. And mair than evident it is,
speiking by the mouth of Moses, hath takin all
autoritie fra his pepil and Kirk, not onlie to est
apoynt unto him any new religioun, but also to a
change any thing in that religioun whilk he hath sa

The Consall that defyneth any thing against the expressit Word of God, is not reulit be the Halie Gaist.

For that is the soverane honour whilk man can gif
to heir his voce, to be obedient unto it, and to pre-
g in matteris of his worschipping without the assur-
same; and heirof in Deutrenomie ar we planelie
nd thairfoir, I say, that to contempn and dispyse
un whilk hath no uther ground nor assurance ex-
nsent and determination of men, (under what colour
be gatherit,) is no cryme befoir God, nether yit any
ause of death in the presence of reasonabill men.
asonis of oure adversareis ar na stranger this day
then wer the reassonis of tirannis and idolateris
first Martyris.

tting at this present farther disputatioun in this
us heir what Tertulian further sayeth, as oure
wryt in thair Apollogie:

nt you continewallie prais Antiquitie, against the Cap. 6.
w alledge Christianis do offend, ye nevertheles, from
can leif of a new fassioun, and reteane thingis that
to leave, and leave thingis that yow aught to keip."

ADDITIOUN.

godlie Wrytter suld this day live, or suld be sent to
the estait of the Chrystiane religioun (as thai do
nd suld behold the lyfe and conversatioun of thois
e and sword defend it, what think we suld be his
to whilk part suld he gif his vote? He did dampn
s, becaus thai praisit Antiquitie in word, and yit in
is, and conversatioun, thai wer found insolent; and
thai omittit thingis that wer to be done, and did
t wer to be omittit. I wald desyre of oure adver-
affectionis laid apart, thai mycht onlie discend in
s and behold the matter as it is in deid, and that
ot judge nor esteame the childrene of God to be so
hat thai can not discerne betuix darkness and lycht.
n the earis of the ignorant multitude, Antiquitie,

The fulische song of ignorant Papistis.

antiquitie, antiquitie, Fatheris, fatheris, Consalli approve oure Religioun. And we answer, that most we that Antiquitie, Consallis, and Fatheris judge in provydit, (as Tertulian in the same chapter requ that religioun be judgeit maist pure and perfyt proved maist auncient, and that the Fatheris nor not authorised against the manifest testimony o Gaist; nether yit that thai be admittit speiking co in ane and the same matter. For heirin standeth ground, that as God is authour of oure Religioun, at all times we offer to mak manifest,) so is the religioun of no such antiquitie as falslie thai boist is a confusioun patchit fra tyme to tyme by the Sathan, and by the fulische branis of men.

Let the Papist speak, and beir witnes in his awn cause.

And to mak this matter mair evident to th will desyre thair awn answer of the antiquitie cheif groundis of thair kingdome, to wit, of the and power absolute of the Bischope of Rome, an substantiatioun. In what age, I wold ask, we articles admittit and ressavit universallie in the K it is, that thair Supremacie, whilk this day is necessarie article of oure faith, cannot be proved antiquitie then Phocas, that tratour, who mur maister, Mauricius the empriour, his wyfe and th Theodorus, Tiberius, and Constantine, maid him se and to purchase the favour of the Romanis, di Bonifacius the Fourth, then Bischope of Rome,[1] to heid of all bischopis, and that the Kirk of Rome mother and mistres of all uthir kirkis. And thai stantiatioun, that horribill ydoll thair god of br tirannie establissit, first in the dayis of Pope Secund[2] (sum say the Third), who, in the Consall compellit Berengarius to recant, and schamefull nunce his former doctrine of the Lordis Supper

Establishing transsubstantiatioun.

[1] A. D. 607–614. [2] A. D. 1058–106

ıcrament of the Altar), and to affirme that blasphe-
ampnabill errour of Transsubstantiation, confessing
Consall did teache him, that efter the wordis whilk
f consecratioun, thair resteth na mair bread and
hat Chrystis verie bodie and blude is thair not onlie
llie, but also sensibillie (that is to say, that it may
felt,) brokin and eattin with the handis and teith
stis. This blasphemous doctrine was unknawn to
ve Kirk, yea, to the auncient wrytteris and fatheris,
octrine and wryttingis do witnes, till the tyme of
, a monk whom the Divill usit as ane apt instrument
rpois, to bewitche and blind the said Pope Nycolas,
er establish that horrible heresie for a necessarie
ure faith, as may be sene in the Decre, in the titill
Consecratione, distinc. 2., "*Ego Berengarius*";[1] and
Decretall *De Summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica*, be-
Firmiter tenemus."[2] Let thame now glorie and bost
uitie of theis thair tuo cheif corner-stonis, whilk sall
prove thair Supremacie to haif bene denyit unto
ne autoritie of Generall Consallis sax hundreth yeiris
t, and the othir to haif had no credit nor place in
all Kirk a thousand and odd yeiris efter the dayis of
lis. Now, seing theis thair tuo cheif groundis ar of
s, what fulischnes wer it to judge the rest of thair
nis, and found ceremonies divysit for lucre, to be of
quitie as thai boast. But lat thame be so auncient
prove thame, we doubt not alwayis to prove oure
ore auncient.

eturne to the wordis of Tertuliane: Yf he or any
cient fatheris who did knaw and instruct the Pri-
k, suld behald the Pope sitting in his trone crounit

[1] *pus Juris Canonici*, it is
fessio Berengarii," (De-
ars: De Consecratione,
Cap. xlii.)

[2] The words are, "*Firmiter credimus*," (Decretalium Gregorii, Lib. i. De Summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica, Tit. i. Cap. i.)

in his Pontificall, having his Cardinallis in thair
mentis placeit about him, with the mitred Bi
thair rankis, and suld also sie us presentit befoir
suld heir us accusit as heretickis and sismatickis,
will not confess that all power in heavin and erth i
the Pope, that he is the heid of Chrystis Kirk, an
interpretatioun of Scriptures is in *imo pectoris sui*
ject to his judgement; that his Cardinallis ar co
to kings, becaus thai ar of his creatioun, and a
poweris ar so subject to him, that whome he exaltet
exaltit, and whome he dejectis or deposeis must haif
nether with God nor man. Yf, farther, he suld al
none of his preceptis nor workis aught to be callit in
becaus the judge may be judgeit be none; and th
religioun whilk he approveth must be gude, becaus
halines, whilk is nether God nor man, but a mixe
can not err. And finallie, yf he suld blowe the trum
to his bischopis, and say, Rejoise ye, my brethrene
exemptit from that precept whilk was gevin to the fir
of the Kirk, to wit, that thai suld ga and preach
Evangell; no, that was ane age and we ar another;
now to the fulness of oure glorie, and thairfoir mus
realmes and nationis; the infancie of the Kirk was bu
and afflictioun, but we ar now cum to force and digni
the whilk whosoever dar whisper we haif vengeance r
pareit, and thairfoir must theis heretickis either rec
And yf we maist humillie suld requyre, that Godis r
and plane Word mycht judge betuix us and him, a
suld usurpe no power nether in justificatioun of hims
in condempnatioun of us, without the assurance and
timony of the same Word, but that oure request s
jectit, and a suddane cry suld be heard, oure halie M
Kirk, Fatheris, Consallis, and Antiquitie, haif approve
toritie, and haif grantit us power to do what we list, t
call the same in doubt is heresie, alreadie dampnit.

, suld stand and heir this maner of reasonyng, I
hat face and ordour of judgement suld he pronunce
doubt not but it suld appeir to him verie strange,
ıce of Kirk was sene in his dayis, neither yit did any
urpe in his tyme sic power and autoritie, but by the
od was all controverseis decydit in the Kirk. The
s weill of Rome as of uther citeis, provinceis, and
preacheris and, for the maist part, martyris. But
me did usurpe the power of earthlie princes, nether
ıunt or frequent the courtis of great men, except
to mak sum requeist for the afflictit Christianis.
Cardinallis, (suche as now we haif companionis, and
ingis,) that age knew none. And thairfoir, I say,
assureit that Tertuliane suld pronunce his former
nd suld say, "Theis men of Kirk ar in all poyntis
to the auncient Gentillis who did first persecut
ıs in his memberis. For thai clame to antiquitie,
r a new fassioun, thay leif undone that whilk cheiflie
to do, to wit, to instruct the pepill, and trewlie to
rystis Evangell; and thai do theis thingis whilk thai
to do, to reule lyke tirantis, and to persecut the
whilk rebukis thair tiranie and impietie, superstitrie, and insolent lyfe. And theis simpill men who
rmatioun of religioun now decayit, and thair cause to
Godis Word, ar in all poyntis lyke to oure brethren
anis in my dayis, for whome I wrait my Apologie
e. But theis hornit and mytred monsteris wer not
ıawin in the Kirk in my dayis." The same sall everie
tter and father thrie hundreth yeiris efter him
Vhilk thing, God willing, some day I sall mak evi-
as list tak pane to reid the veritie conteanit in thair

let us follow the Apologie of oure Brethreno[1] whilk

s, "the Appollogie of oure Brethrene," are repeated in the MS.

thus proceideth, yit adduceing for thair defen
Tertulian :

Cap. 6. "Now will I answer to theis sclanderis v
oure charge, tuiching the horribill wickitnes
we suld secreitlie commit. Thair be that ac
murthering of litill childrene: thair be that r
we haif bankettit and oure candillis put out, v
and maist vyle huirdome. We haif bene oft
oure assemblies; we haif bene oft oppressit in
tionis, and who ever yit found a chyld bleiding
any touche or lyklihude of ane harlote amang
What is he that hath sene theis thingis, an
same? Yf ye say we commit theis thingis secr
cum ye to the knawledge of thame? Yf ye kn
your selves, how can ye knaw thame of strar
ressave nane in oure congregationis?

Note the prudence of the Primative Kirk.

Cap 7. "As tuiching commoun report, the nature tha
all. The commoun voice, for the most part, br
leis, yea, and sum tymes it mingleth the trewth
be adding to the trewth, or be diminissing from

Cap 8. "Now to report oure selves to the conscien
blame us, Sall we find any that will esteme th
man can indure or abyd to murther litill infar
it is said) when the candillis ar out, commit
villany.

Cap. 30. "As tuiching that it is laid to oure charge
aganis the majestie of Princes, be it knawin,
God for thair health and long lyfe, that thai
preservit frome all dangeris, that thair armes
that thai may haif wit and prudent consall, ar
tewous subjects.

If we do not the same, lat oure bukis and wryttingis testifie.

Cap. 37. "How can we be rebellis to oure superiouris
pacientlie the wrongis that everie ane doith
to your rememberance how oftin ye haif exerc
tie aganis us the Christians? How oftin haif

ir awn autoritie, assailyeit us with stonis and fyre; haif we takin vengeance agane, althocht that in with a litill fyre, we culd sufficientlie revenge ? but God forbid that any suche fyre, maid be [us] , suld be kendillit, to the sclander or disprais of e of God. Besydis that, think ye that oure noum- ecay? Seing that the strong nationis that wer haif thair limitis and boundis; but we ar scat- out the warld; yea, evin in your tounis and vil- our courtis and armeis, your verie houssis ar full of remaneth but onlie your tempillis: that we leif for Yf oure doctrine did not teache us rather to be to sla, we wald requyre but a few, evin unarmit, to yow with onlie ane commotion.

Christianis can not utterlie be distroyit, because thair habitation is not conteanit within certane bondis.

Christianis wold not cum in the tempillis of idolatoris.

ssemblies aught not to be estemit lyke unto the con- and bandis of the seditious, for we do nathing that sic. Neither for glorie nor ambitioun ar we moveit l together.

Cap. 38.

resort together to the intent, that when we ar ve may pray for oure Princis, and for thois that der thame, for the higher poweris and quyet estait nmoun-weill. We cum together to commune and the Scriptures, and to apply thame to oure tyme; any together to nurische our faith with halie admo- incressing of oure hoip, and to confirme our selves faith be the same; and moreover, to learne that ommandementis of God do teache. Amangis us ar ationis and godlie reformationis; yf any have so the same must be exemptit, and repellit frome tting with us in prayer, and frome oure company; utioun thairof, ar Elderis appoyntit that be approved haif that autoritie, for thair godlie worthines, and ney. Everie ane that is abill bringeth monethlie, or ill, (for nane is constraynit) sumwhat for comfort of nd thairof is maid a treasour and stoir, the whilk is

Cap. 59. Propheceing whair St Paule speiketh. Corin.

Exhortatioun.

Discipline.

Collectioun of Almes.

not bestowit in banketting and drunkennes, bu
ployit to the nurissing of the pure, to the burei
and to the releif of the wydow and fatherles c
succouring and supporting of the ageit and pur
ar in prisone for the mantenance of the treuth c

Let the Bischopis answer.

Doith this maner of meitting of Christianis togi
be callit unlawfull, whairof nane can compleane,
assemblit together to hurt or to wrong any bodi
foir, sic cuming together of honest pepill, dese
be callit a Senat or ane honorabill consall, tha
or factioun.

Cap. 40. Sic is the blindnes of men this day, as France doith witnes. [2]

"Thois names apertene onlie to thois that
the gude and sched innocent blude; and yit n
thai the Christianis the caus of all the evillis ar
thois wickit indure. Yea, yf Tiber run over a
in Rome; yf Nilus watter not the contrie neir
any great derth or earthquake, famine or pest
way must sum Christiane die for it, althocht
thingis cum to pas in all ageis for the offences
and ar committit aganis God.

Cap. 46.

"Now, not onlie the commoun blind pepill
crueltie exercisit aganis us, but also certane o
whilk ar reularis of the pepill, go to your Jud
be esteamit the better for slaying of the Christ
and go furth in your malice, condempn, tor
secute us; for seing that God hath sufferit, w
suffer? yea, and your unrychteous judgementis
innocencie the more knawn, and your crueltie
noumber; for the scheding of the blud of th
the seed of thair doctrine. And as for oure par
whilk ye call self-opinioun or obstinacie, sall
furth oure cause, that althocht it be condempn
it approved and allowit of God."

Permissioun be mockage.

O Lord, declair thy strenth!

[1] Wholly.

[2] In the margin of the original, "Incontinent qu'il advient quelque mal on crié cont (Immediately any is raised against t

E TERTULIAN, IN HIS BUKE MAID TO SCAPULA,[1] WHO
AS PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOUR OF THE TOUN OF
RTHAGE.

: be that sclander us as concernyng the autoritie of
and yit, nevertheles, thair can nane be found amangis
anis lyke unto Albine, or lyke unto Nyce, or to Niger,
Cassius;[2] for thai indeed wer approved enemyis to all
and higher poweris, and both be solempnit oath, and
rit thameselves no less, and yit ever thai culd often
the Christianis.[3] The Christiane envyeth no man live-
less his Prince, whome he knawith to be apoyntit his
od, and thairfoir loveth him and honoreth him. We
honour oure Prince efter sic sort as it becumeth and
r him, that is to say, as a man upon earth nixt to

Theis wer tra-touris to the Em-perour of Rome.

Let Papistis and the Pape mark this.

Tertullus, Proconsul of

n in his Apology, chap.
fers to the circumstance,
Christian was found en-
er of the factions of Al-
us Cassius, or of Niger,
elled against the Roman
their time.

tence, probably by the
one or two lines, is not
ible. In the "Apolo-
ords run thus:—"Mais
mes ont esté aprouvez
la principauté et puis-
aine, qui avoyent juré le
nt par leur Ange, qui
é sacrifices, et les avoy-
our leur santé, qui avoy-
condamné les Chres-
n comparing the original
tullian, the sense of the
y be thus expressed:
re slandered as enemies
ne authority of the Em-
peror; although no Christian has at any time been found in league with the Albinians, &c.: men, who but yesterday swore by the Genius of the Cæsars, who made and became bound to make sacrifices for their health, and who had often condemned the Christians to death; even these men proved themselves enemies (to the Cæsars)."

Minucius Felix, in reference to the custom of the heathens swearing and offering sacrifices, says, "Sic eorum Numen vocant, ad imagines supplicant, *Genium*, id est *Dæmonem* ejus implorant; et est eis tutius *per Jovis Genium* pejerare, *quam Regis*." Lord Hailes, in his translation of the Octavius, remarks, that according to the Civil Law, he who swore falsely *by the Gods*, was left to be punished *by the Gods;* but he who swore falsely *by the Genius of the Prince*, received corporal punishment.

God, whilk holdeth his haill autoritie of God, and
to nane but to God onlie.

Let oure adversaries answer.

"What is he that hath cause to compleane upon
foir is the Christiane trubillit and vexit? Is it f
cause than for religioun? Is any man abill to cha
incest, with filthie huirdome, or crueltie? Yit for
ar brunt[1] giltles for oure weil-doing, for oure rycht
oure honestie and faithfulnes; and to be schort,
will not leive Godis cause, yea, we ar worse delt w
robberis of kirkis, than the enemyis of the commou
than the verie tratouris."

This far the wordis of Tertulian.

ADDITIOUN BE JOHNE KNOX.

Johne the 16, 17.

YF Sathan wer not the prince of this warld, the
God suld not be in this conditioun, that onlie th
doing suld suffer most cruell torment. Gif we wer o
sum favour we suld find, how horribill that ever
wer; but becaus oure Soverane Captane Chryst Jes
sen us frome the warld, thairfoir doith Sathan, wh
in all the sonis of unbeleif, so blind the hartis of ert
that the fals accusatioun and knawin malice of t

Bischopis of the Popis apoyntment, autoris of all iniquitie and enemyis to all lawfull and godlie autoritie.

the authoris and manteaneris of all iniquitie, yea, a
dispyseris of all lawfull autoritie, salbe sufficient t
us. The men be Tertulian expressit, wer sumtym
under the Roman Emperoris, and became be servi
tanis and leaderis of armeis in sundrie Provinces
apoyntit; but in the end thai became tratouris, ar
myis to thair maisteris the Emperouris, as Elius
Julius Capitolinus, and Lampridius,[3] who do wryt t
Emperouris, do witness. And yit wer theis men mai
secutouris of the Christianis, falslie accusing thame t
a seditious and rebellious pepill to princes, when

[1] Burned. [2] Soldiers.
[3] The three principal writers in the collection entitled, "
gustæ Scriptores VI."

Christiane did ever pretend to sic rebellioun as thai
n, I dout not, do this day wonder at the blindnes of
But yit, allace! gyf the blindnes and crueltie of
e dayis be rychtlie considderit, it far exceideth all
nd blindnes that hath bene knawin since the begyn-
r in the dayis of maist blind idolatrie, sum wer found,
ngis thois that wer ignorant of God, that did lament
of the Christianis, as by Plinie the Secund we may
Vertew was haldin, moreover, in sum estimatioun, and
s wer reputit so execrabill, that seldome it was that
nalefactoris and infameit personis wer promotit to
or admittit for witnessis aganis suche as wer accusit.
allace! in the courtis of thois that wilbe callit "Maist
e Kingis," who ar promotit to greattest honouris? Wha
Secreit Consall, and for the privie effairis? Plane it
f maist dissolut and ungodlie lyfe. Wha now ar ad-
accuse maist godlie and maist chaist ladeis? Infa-
men, yea, maist horribill harlotis; yea, sum of thame
g of the Privie Consall.

est of the enormities I omit, returnyng to that whilk
d can not deny, to wit, that Princeis ar now mair
an ever wer any befoir oure ageis. The memberis
tis bodie, and the trew professouris of his Word,
e most cruellie persecutit, weill neir the space of 40
ince the revyving of Chrystis trew Evangell. The
pretendit for Heresie, and for the contempt of the
n. But doith that, think men, sa inflame the hartis
is aganis us! No; assuredlie thair is another lurk-
ed besydis this: For the matter is easie to be espyit,
is that maist cruellie do persecut oure Brethrene,
o religious in all poyntis as thai pretend, for thai
stick for a temporall commoditie to suffer Lutherianis
do call thame) profess what religioun thai will within
trey and dominionis; yea, and farther, of purpois to
d hurt thair enemye, or to advance, as thai suppois,

Ane plane prufe that Princes persecute us not for zeall of religioun.

thair interprysis, in warris thai will not refuse to be
freindschip with the open enemye of Chrystis re
Turk; whairof it is manifest, that the onlie zeall
moveth thame not to rage aganis us. But Sathan
whairin his kingdome may be hurt, doith privilie
the venemous toungis of pestilent Papistis, and
hyrit servandis to Cardinallis and Bischopis, in
Princeis, that we pretend sum seditioun and rebel
thame, and thairfoir must we be repressit, or els
lose thair autoritie.[1] For this cause is the rage of p
dillit aganis us in sic sort, that open brigandis d
favour in presence of princes and judgeis than
allace! how ar princeis inchantit, blindit, and bewi
Divill, that thai persecut thair trew subjectis, w
Godis glorie, do principallie manteane the cause,
authoritie of thair princeis? For the cheif cause w
and his kingdome do hait and persecut us, is tha
that na power on earth is above the power of the
that everie saule, be he Pope or Cardinall, aught t
to the higher Poweris. That thair commandeme
pugnyng to Godis glorie and honour, aught to be
with great loss of temporall thingis.

Sic as thir wer did never Courtis lack.

We do defend the autoritie of Princes, and yit thai persecut us.

Theis propositionis, I say, do we susteane and
oure bukis and wryttingis do witnes) aganis th
his usurpit autoritie. For whilk cause that haill
cheiflie hait us, for we affirme and mak plane, t
quyte overthrawin the lawfull power and autoriti
and what man is so blind that cleirlie doith not s

[1] In the margin of the MS., the transcriber has added: "1603. Oure lait printit Testament, or Consall to the Prince, against Puritens, is lyke this." This refers to the "Basilicon Doron" of King James. Immediately upon his accession to the Crown of England, in 1603, it was published both at London and E in this work, the Roy acterises the Puritan *in the Church and Com* advises the Prince t man more then a go to "hate no man mor Puritane."—(Pp. 41–

i onlie will live in the dominioun of Princes, and yit be subject to thair lawis. To princes thai will nei- y toll nor tribut, except it be of thair awn benevo- nd maist commounlie too by the blude of innocentis, aill studie is to bring thame under obedience and oun to thair princes. And no power will thai ac- ge and confess above thair Pope, whair be the con- ith Tertulian, we affirme, that the Emperour and everie vithin his awn dominiouns, hath his haill autoritie of d is inferiour to none but to God onlie. And farther, ther Bischope, Cardinall, nor Pope, aught more to be t fromo giveing obedience, paying of tribut, and of ewteis aperteanyng to Kingis, than ar the commoun eple. This battell susteane we, aganis this generatioun Chryst, amangis othiris, for mantenance and defence Princes, and of the civill poweris. And yit, allace! ar o blindit, that thai who haif deposit Princes, reft and kingdomes frome the lawfull inheritoris, have rebellit Emperoris; yea, haif causit the sonis rebell aganis thair : Theis men, I say, yea, theis sa manifest tratoris, sall ce to accuse and traduce us of treasone and seditioun t or intendit aganis oure Prince; and thair accusatioun report salbe admittit, how vane that ever it be. But s blindnes hath God justlie strickin Princes, that they and credit thair mortall enemyis, and cruellie do mur- ir trew subjectis and freindis, and that becaus thai delyte nor pleasure in the brychtnes and treuth of his alie Word. But greatlie it is to be feirit, leist that cording to this his sentence pronunced, "Who con- h me, sall be without honour, and sall fall in ignominie me;" "God doith poure furth contempt and confusioun he Princeis, and upon poweris wha sall rebell aganis ganis God, I say, and aganis Chryst Jesus his Sone, sa

Why, and when, Bischopis and Preistis ar maist liberall to thair Princes.

Popis haif declarit this and more.

The blindnes of Princes. King James the 6.[1]

1 Kings 2.

Psa. 107.

nd some other of the mar- es are evident additions by the transcriber of MS. M.

lovinglie calling, and sa pacientlie abyding for thair
Lang hes He sufferit the blude of his sanctis to be
Apo. 6. it continewallie cryeth a vengeance aganis the tiran
Luc. 18. habit the earth. Oure Maister Chryst Jesus hath
that oure heavinlie Father is mair pitifull, and m
heir us, and to revenge oure cause, wha now ar ma
persecutit, than was the wickit judge to delyver
frome the tiran that did trubill hir. Assuredlie th
of God do this day, in everie realme and contre
Psa. 79. David, "Lat the blude of thy sanctis whilk is sche
revengeit befoir oure eyis."

Admonitioun. I wald that Princes suld considder and under
"the eares of the Lord ar inclynit to the prayer of
Psa. him." "Albeit his Majestie appeir for a seasson
Psa. us, yit doith he receave oure tearis in his bottel
oure gronis ar unto him a sacrifice of sueit odour.
foir he will not confound oure faces for ever." I
My boldnes is groundit upon the assurance of Godis promeis, upon his justice and power. bold, but yit a most trew word: Mair aught the
poweris of the earth [to] fear oure spirituall weap
be continewall prayer, sobbis, and gronis of our h
by our onlie Mediator Chryst Jesus, we present
craveing redress of the great injuries whilk we
mair, I say, aught Kingis and Princes to feir thei
ponis than the force and assalt of many legionis o
Exod. 1 and 2. enemyis. For the cry of the Israelittis moveit G
Exo. 17. Moses to plague proude and tirannous Pharo. Th
2 Reg. 18. 2 Parali. 32. Esay the 36. Moses gat the victorie to Josua fichting aganis Am
angusche and dolorous complaynt of Ezechias, with
of the rest of the godlie with him, obteanit of Go
overthraw and slauchter maid without the hand of
1 Reg. 17. hoist of Senacherib. Helias, be his prayer schut
vin, that rane nor dew discendit not thrie yein
2 Reg. 6. monethis. And Heliseus, finallie, be prayer, struke
nes, and led away captive and as prisonneris, the s
horsmen of the King of Siria to the presence of t

God hath this day his childrene on earth who sorelie
it. The spreit of Moses sall not be ydill when Josua,
nmandement, prepareth to battell. And albeit we
c King (whilk greatlie is to be lamentit) as Ezechias
o I knaw that God hath his prophetis this day in
is prayeris in Chryst Jesus ar acceptabill befoir him;
ne of his power giveth to dyvers the spreit of Elias,
cry that the iniquitie of Achabis hous is the caus of
is this day in Israell. To speak the matter in plane
e iniquitie and tirannie of Princes is suche, that God
just judgementis no langer delay vengeance, except
un and speadie repentance be found. And thairfoir,
nces ought to tak heid and no langer to provock and
lang pacience of the Almychtie; for he that drounit
l his armie, efter admonitioun and dyvers plaguis
and tuke fra Nebuchadnezar reasone, wit, and forme
nay easelie deject thame frome glorie, power, and
and may pour furth contempt upon thame, making
aves, becaus thai haif prophanit the throne of his
Majestie, and haif abusit the autoritie whilk of him
essavit.

The small flock can never be utterlie destitut of trew Preacheris, who are Prophetis.

wordis, to speik my conscience, the regement of
this day cum to that heap of iniquitie, that na
n can bruke office or autoritie under thame; but
g, he salbe compellit, not onlie aganis equitie and
oppress the pure, but also expressedlie to fight aganis
his ordinance, either in mantenance of idolatrie, or
rsecuting Godis chosin childrene. And what must
of, but that either Princeis be reformit, and be com-
to reforme thair wickit lawis, or els that all gud men
thair service and company. And yf oure enemyis
the departing of sic as thai call heretickis salbe
ntage, let thame considder, that as the possessioun
v earth, whilk God sall creat for the inheritance of
ene, is promissit and appoyntit for the just onlie,

Let sic as serve Princeis in officeis advert.

Commoun-weallis ar conservit for the caus of the just.

that so ar the estaitis of theis commoun-wealth
Gene. 14. for a tyme evin for thair cause. The spoyle of
Gomorra, whilk the fyve Kingis had lost in bat
duceit and brocht agane be Abrahame and his se
Gene. 19. in noumber in respect of sic a multitude. So lar
manit within thois citeis, the Angell confessit th
not poure furth Godis apoyntit vengeance; but
departit, and nothing restit except rottin, dry,
treis, the heavins culd na langer containe the fy
speid and violence sent furth the flamyng brimston
thois ungodlie who long had provockit that veng
thame. God, for his great mercies sake, oppin,
so illuminat the hartis of men, that thai may ad
tioun befoir that his anger be farther provokit!

Theis thrie Additionis I culd not but add to thi
logie and Defence of oure Brethrene, and gladl
farther travellit in the same, but that the tyme w
now. At more opportunitie the Brethrene sall
of my mynd. Now to the rest:

(APOLOGIE.)

This halie doctour, the cheifest amang the Grecians of that age, florischit befoir Chryst 140.

THE WORDIS OF JUSTINE MARTYR, IN A DIALOGU
MAID WITH TRIPHONE AGANIS THE JEWIS.

"BEHOLD, I say, ar not ye persuadit that w
flesche, and that efter banketting, the candellis a
the committing of maist filthie huirdome? Do ye
condempn us of this cryme, for asmuche as ye g
to sic wordis, that ye will not beleive us, but ra
this report to be trew? That thing, sayeth Tripl
us muche to mervale, and yit me think that the r
maid of yow is not meit to be beliveit, becaus
man abhorreth suche thingis; and lykwyse I kn
commandementis expressit to you in the Gospel
forbid suche impietie; yea, theis commandementis

o great, that I think nane can keip thame, for I have he pane to revolve and reid your bukis."

: WRYTTER IN THE FIRST APOLOGIE FOR CHRISTIANIS.

L I had a pleasure in the doctrine of Plato, heiring Christianis whilk wer accusit, feirit nathing at all, ath, neither yit any other thing, how horribill that s, trewlie that maid me to think that there was na thame as was reportit; neither yit that thai wer hair awin lustis and pleasures. For what is he that and gevin to the lustis of this warld, that willinglie death, by the whilk he sall lose all commoditeis and ?"

the wordis of Justine Martyr.

THE WORDIS OF ST CYPRIAN IN HIS FIRST TREATISE NST DEMETRIAN.

This godlie wrytter, who usit to call the buk of Tertulian his wryttingis, his maister, florischit in the yeir efter Christ 246.

sayis that many compleanyng, do report that the conveiris, pestilences, famynis, and lang raynis, is evin be s of us; and that all the evillis that trubill the warld be laid to oure charge, because we serve not thair airas thai thameselves knaw the contrarie, and that us God be thame is not served."

, IN HIS EIGHT BUKE AGANIS THE GENTILLIS,[1] IR, IN THE PERSONE OF CECILIUS THE PAYNIM,[2] HE ERSETH ALL THOIS CRYMES THAT OF LANG TYMES WER TO THE CHRISTIANIS CHARGE; AND IN THE PERSONE OCTAVIUS THE CHRISTIANE, HE MAKETH ANSWER TO S SCLANDERIS.

This halie man flourischeth efter Christ, in the yeir 286; in whilk tyme thair was maid so cruell and gret persecutionis of Christianis in the west partis, that in the space of 30 dayis, in dyvers provinces, did more than 20,000 personis, men and wemen, suffer mertirdome, and principallie for thair Christian assembleis.

sect of Christianis (sayith Cecilius the Paynim) is a naist ignorant pepill, of foollis, of fraill wemen, and

owing extracts are erroribed to Arnobius: See 333.

[2] "Paynim," Heathen, Pagan; in the "Apologie," Payen.

of suche as be licht of beleif; thay whilk cluster t
meit in congregationis by nicht. Thay ar a pep
corneris and darknes, and flie fra the lycht.
say nothing, but ar babilleris and pratteris in se
pass not[1] upon churchis, thai be mokeris and
the godis and of thair service; and with a me
and ane unspeakable boldnes, thai dispyse prese
and onlie fear thois that ar to cum; and to es
efter thai be deid, fear not to die in this war
evill thingis do grow faster than otheris, evin s
sect spring up daylie throughout all the warld.
sort that knaw ane another be certane signis am
selves. Thay love ane another befoir thai be ac
becum as it wer a religioun of huirdome an
Thay call brother and sister, that thair accustom
may turne into incest; yea, yf thair wer not su
report wald not be sa great. It is said, that t
eat amangis thame litill childrene; and that tha
of thair bankettis is countit trew; that is to sa
cum together with thair awn children, sisteri
and with all uthir kyndis of what age soever t
efter thair excessive eatting and drinking, th
being put out, thay mingill together, committin
of vilany and incesteous huirdome. I leif many
sydis that be spokin of thame; for theis ar
deface thair Religioun, that thai use it secre
corneris: for honest thingis love ever to be abr
be sene, but that whilk is evill would alwayis be
have thai no alteris nor tempillis? Why do thai
thair myndis oppinlie? Why ar thai not cum tog
Yf that whilk thai worschip deserve not punisment
eth thame aschamit? The more part and better p
say, be pure, and suffer cald and famyne, and yi

[1] "Thay pass not," they care not, they disregard; in the "Apologie," *qui ne tient conte des te* they make no account

for thame. Thay ar threatnit, thai ar harlit to the gallous, and to the fyre, and yit thair God delyver-ot. Thay forsake all pastyme; thay use no gamyng, nketting; thay be pale and feirfull; and whill thai eternall lyfe, thai seme not to live at all. Whair-sall yow Christianis, yf yow haif any wit at all, to seiking so high thingis, forasmuche as ye be un-taught, rude, and suche as can not understand the this warld, muche less the matteris of God."

HE ANSWER OF OCTAVIUS THE CHRISTIANE.

mervale that Cecilius, knawing not the treuth, be with dyvers and contrarie opinionis, not knawing ld. But to the intent that sic vanitie spread no t may be defaceit by schewing of the veritie, the f thois matteris whilk he hath spokin salbe suffi-futit. He is greatlie greivit that the pure and un-isput of Heavinlie thingis; whairunto I answer, That reatit all men meit to have understanding and rea-ome thai ressave wisdome, and not of fortune. And, n disputatioun and reasonyng, men travell not to o the dignitie of the dispute, but onlie the treuth of whilk is in questioun. Furthermore, seing God all men eyis to behald the heavins, the Word con-he Scriptures, and reassone, all men ar bound to yea, and it is no less sin not to knaw him then to his commandements.

eth, that we love corneris and secreit places; and for feir, either for schame, thair be that will not nlie. We set nocht by thair godis, nor yit by e, for we knaw that the haill sowme of it is de-e folie and brane of man. We dispyse thair tor-l stryve valientlie against the horroris of deth,

[1] "Passes not," see note to the previous page.

becaus that the presence of God, oure Captane, hardie. This is the cause why a great sort o dureit to be brunt without making any great ac verie children and wemen seime as it wer to sl betis and tormentis, thro the great pacience thame. And yit, O yow miserable! yow can n how that nane will thus offer thameselves to sum reassonis. And that nane culd abyd consta ment except God assistit the same.

God gif us this to schyne befoir men!

"And as tuiching the increassing of oure n day to day, it is na signe of errour, but of p we knaw ane another by theis signis, innocencie lykwyse we lufe ane another, and knaw not th hatred. We also call oureselves brethrene, as t a[2] father, companionis of ane faith, and heretouri

Fame and report raissit be lies.

"As tuiching the commoun brute whilk cha detestabill sclanderis, we knaw that that is Divill, becaus men suld hait us befoir thai kn thai onis knew us thai wold follow us. It is m that men inquyre of the treuth, and not t report; the whilk as it nurisseth the self upon doith it die when the treuth is knawin. We do children, wha dois not onlie abhoir to murther, bu it spokin. We, neither commit huirdome nor i yit any suche lyke wickitnes, the whilk we wold in the warld yf we saw thame not in yow. Suche to be imputit and spokin to thois which, evin a defyle thameselves with all kynd of villany. It spokin of thois that esteme huirdome but a sport that ar not eschamit to exceid in all maner of v It aught to be spokin of thois that amangis thair middis of thair tempillis, mak thair market with thair barganying with thair baudis, and who de

Let Cardinallis and Bischopis purge themselves befoir thai accuse us.

[1] In the "Apologie," *sans qu'ils jettassent de grands cris*, (without their making a great outc

[2] "A," ane, one.

ıss thair huirdomes. Oure religioun is not secreit, is it keipit in corneris, althocht we haif neither tem- alteris, for we offer up oure spreittis to God. We in oure hartis; we studie to traine and exercise our ocencie, prayeris, and rychteousnes, and to flie frome f wickitnes. Theis, I say, ar oure sacrifices. We to be mockit for oure povertie, but rather be com- the same; for he is not pure that hath God for his ıa also is contentit with that whilk is his awn, and lesyre the substance of ane other.

Never word heir of Chrystis bodie offirit in the form of bread.

oith not dispyse us in oure afflictionis, neither is he help us; but he doith governe us, and loving sic as , be trubillis he proveth and tryeth thair pacience. iching tormentis, be ye sure, that the trew soldiour ıot forsakin when he suffereth; neither by suffering doith he perische. We absteane frome your pas- inordinat pompis, becaus honestie and vertew is ıie to be embraceit, and live sa heir in faith, that reit of everlasting felicitie. Let us, thairfoir, rejoise wledge of sa high thingis, and rejoising in weildoing, ıll ungodlines and superstitioun. God add to us the is Spreit, that so we may do!"

the wordis of Octavius the Christian.[1]

ıor of the "Apologie" to a mistake which was hat time, in quoting the ssages from the Dialogue s the Eighth Book (Liber Arnobius. This writer vards the end of the third s work *Adversus Gentes*, of Seven Books; but it olished as consisting of , under this title: "Ar- tionum adversus Gentes, Romæ, 1542, folio, and also in later editions. It was afterwards discovered that the Eighth Book was a separate work written by Marcus Minucius Felix, a lawyer at Rome, who is supposed to have lived during the reign of the Emperor Caracalla. His work "Octavius," is a Dialogue, as above quoted, between Cæcilius, a Heathen, and Octavius, a Christian; Minucius, himself, as their common friend, acting as umpire between the two disputants.

This godlie wrytter flurissit the yeir efter Chryst 371.

THE WORDIS OF ST HILLARIE AGAINST AU

"YOW that think yourselves Bischopis, I pr
warldlie support or help usit the Apostillis in pre
Gospell? What higher power stude by thame a
part in the preaching of Chryst, when thai d
move and change all the Gentillis from thair im
the liveing God? Had thai gottin any warldlie
thai did lye in chaynes and in prisone, sing Psaln
Yea, efter Paule was whippit and brocht befoir t
seat, was maid a jesting stok and spectakill to t
he thairfoir efter assembill any congregatioun or l
by force of the Kingis proclamatioun? He rat
defendit him self frome Nero, frome Vespasian,
throcht whois hatred the confessioun of the trew
the Gospell flurischit. The Apostillis manteanyn
be the labour of thair awn handis, assemblit tog
meris and secreit places, and by-streitis and vil
compassit as it wer all Nationis, asweill be sea as
withstanding the decreis, lawis, and ordinances
furth by Kingis and Consallis in the contrarie."

Hitherto St Hillarie his wordis.

IN THE FIRST CHAPTER OF THE FIRST BUKE OF
ASTICALL HISTORIE, COLLECTIT BE EUSEBI
CONTEANIT ANE EPISTILL SENT BE THE MART
AND VIENNE[1] TO THE CHURCHES OF ASIA
WHILK CONTENE THEIS WORDIS.

This persecution was in the year after Christ 171.

"THAIR was daylie so great a Persecutioun, evi
weak, and suche as fayntit in thair faith, that all
and cheif reularis of tuo Churchis wer committ
Yea, we had certane infidellis Payenis[2] to oure
whilk also wer taken; (for the Governour had geve
ment that all suld be serchit out,) and thai being

[1] Vienne, in Dauphiny, on the banks of the Rhone.

[2] See note, *supra*, p

eties of Sathan, and feiring the tormentis that thai
he sanctis suffer, by the instigatioun of men of weir
t thame thairto, inventit matteris aganis us, chargo-
n making privie bankettis, and eatting litill children
ne;[1] and that we did commit sic incest as Œdipus
and besydis, that we did othir thingis whilk be
vfull for us to speak, to think, nor yit to beleive that
ingis hath bene done of men. Theis thingis being
l abrod by report, all men began to use us cruellie,
i whilk befoir seemed to favour us, be reasone of the
e thai had with us, became worst and most aganis us.[2]
vas performit the same that oure Lord had spokin,
The tyme sall cum, that whosoever sall put yow to
think he doith God gud service.' Whairfoir, at that
nalie Martyris sufferit sa great persecutioun as is un-
and the Divill usit all his force to compell men to
."

DIS FOLLOWING AR WRITTIN IN THE FOURTH BOOKE
FIRST CHAPTER OF THE ECCLESIASTICALL HISTORIE,[3]
RIN IS DECLAREIT THE GREAT PERSEVERANCE AND
ANCIE OF THE CHRISTIANIS IN THE TOUN OF EDESSE,
E LAND OF MESOPOTAMIA.

aid that the Emperour Valens,[4] desyreing to sie this and knawing that all thois that thair did congregat bhorrit his heresie, seing so great a multitude, vio- give a blowe to the Governour, or Provest of the

This Emperour began to ring the yeir efter Chryst 368.

Apologie," *que nous faisions le Thyestes, c'est a dire, ou les petis enfans*, (that we nquets of Thyestes, that ere they eat little child-

became most exasperated

lent recorded in the fol- ct occurs, not in Euse- he Ecclesiastical History of Socrates, surnamed Scholasticus, B. iv. ch. xix. It is also recorded in the similar History of Theodoretus, Bishop of Cyrus, B. iv. ch. xvii., who furnishes the name of Modestus, as the Præfect of Edessa.

[4] Valens, the great supporter of the Arian heresy, was the brother of the Emperor Valentinian, who assumed him as colleague in the empire.

citie, because he had not takin order to stay and
Now, efter the Provest had ressavit this injuri
ment was gevin that he suld kill so many as he su
blit together; and he, contrarie his mynd, was
obey the Emperouris furie. Yit, nevertheles, sec
warnyng to the Christianis to depart out of tha
was aganis his heart to murther sa many pepill
thois threatnyngis, and notwithstanding his sec
nane wald obey his consall, but on the morrow t
blit togedder in the house of prayer. Now, as th
cumpanyit with a great band of men of weir, w
towarde the place whair thai wer assemblit t
Emperouris furie aganis thame, a certane pure
ing hir chyld in hir hand, ran to the place of ma
brak the order of the Provestis soldieris; whair
vest being displeasit, commandit hir to be takin,
hir, 'Whither goest thow so fulischlie, thow fon
pie creature?' To whome sche answerit, 'I go
otheris do run.' And he said to hir agane, 'K
not that the Provest will put all to death tha
thair?' The woman answerit him, 'I understa
thairfoir I mak the mair haist that I may be
thame.' Yit farther the Provest demandit,
careis thow the chyld?' Sche answered, 'To
croun of martirdome with the rest.' The Proves
answer, returnit to the Emperour, and advertisi
constancie (whilk he callit follie), how thai wer
together, and wer readie to suffer the death fo
adding, that it was not reasonabill that so great
pepill suld be murtherit together; and sa by pe
peasit the Emperouris furie. And thus the Edess
the Emperouris wrath, and wer not distroyit and
that tyme."

Note thair fervencie.[1]

[1] The marginal note in the "Apologie" is, *Response digne de memoire à jamais*, (A reply wort bered for ever.)

CLAMATIOUN[1] OF THE EMPEROUR ADRIAN, ADDRESSIT FUNDANUS, AGANIS THOIS THAT SCLANDER THE STIANIS, AS IS WRITTIN IN THE FOURTH BUKE OF BIUS, THE NINTH CHAPTER.

This Emperour began to ring the yeir efter Chryst 120.

E sene the letteris of Granianus, in whois place thow , and I think not meit that the cause of Christianis assit over without diligent informatioun, to the end may not be trubillit, and the malice of sclanderis and supportit. And thairfoir, yf thois of that Pro- mittit to thy charge can in judgement dewlie approve thai lay to the Christianis charge, let thame do so, n to accuse thame and onlie cry out upon thame. ost meit, that when any is accusit thow first through- the cause, and then judge. Yf then any Christiane befoir thee, and that it can be aproved that he hath any offence contrarie to oure lawis, then sall thow ording to his offence; but yf any sclanderous[ly][2] thame, let the same be correctit and punissit as his deserveth."

be dyvers uthir witnessis in the auncient Doctouris for this purpose; and the Historeis thame selves large what hath bene the estait of the auncient what bondage the pure faithfull have liveit, with ger thai haif assemblit together, and with what thai have indureit the tormentis that have bene ganis thame by the crueltie of tirantis. But we haif at these thingis gatherit sall boith suffise to warne nt not to credit reportis that runneth of oure assem-

"Apologie," *l'Edit*, (the bius, "but if any one ose this with a view to n the "Apologie," *mais our calomnier les accuse*, (if any for slander should accuse them.)

[2] In the Addition at page 346, as Knox himself states, this concluding portion of the "Apologie" makes no pretence to being a literal translation.

bling together, and also stop the mouthis of thoi
evill of us; of the whilk sort sum ar careit awa
awn malice, otheris ar led by the persuasioun of t
dome. This, thairfoir, that we have gatherit out
cient Fatheris, may instruct the ane and defend
other. For what is he that at the first will belei
trew that is spokin of us, yf the same understand
tyme the Christianis haif bene burdenit and char
lyke sclanderis? What is he that perceaving us t
as thai wer, will not inquyre whether we mant
quarrell or not? For this ar we bold to affirm
accusit as thai wer, we haif the same innocencie t
Now, on the uther syde, let it be askit of thois t
judgement, Why thai call the Gentillis, the idola
tymes whilk persecutit the Chrystianis, doggis a
personis? Will thai not say it is because thai usit
centis false accusationis, wickit judgementis, and
crueltie? Yf, thairfoir, thai condempn theis thi
nimis, what salbe thocht of thame that this da
same vyces: Falslie accuseing us, unjustlie cond
and using most extreame crueltie aganis us? It is
suche as have any feir of God remanyng in thai
do confess that thai abhour the abominationis of t
nevertheless, the same men being disceavit throc
do run in the self-same condempnatioun; for asm
persecut us, not perceaving that the cause of th
of the Primative Kirk and ouris is all one. For y
blit together in secreit, becaus thai mycht not be
do the same opinlie, evin so do we. Yf, when tha
blit, thai maid thair prayeris to God, heard his W
municate the halie Sacramentis that oure Lord
institute in his Kirk, we do evin the lyke. Yf in
blies thai gave sumwhat for the releif of the pu
same also; and have to prais God that a great

[1] Or "Paynimis," as interlined in MS. M.

onis, and suche as ar afflictit, have felt the frute of
ing together.

schort, yf thai had any order, discipline, or censure
thame, we have the same also amangis us. And in
d, yf ye oure persecutoris had socht to knaw the
e suld haif found this whilk we speik to be maist
ilk ane thing is abill to justifie and approve the
and equitie of oure cause. But how do men now-a-
oceid in examinatioun of matteris? Many be inquisi-
ny do watche, and many be maist diligent to knaw.
t, I beseche yow? Sum inquyre, In what places do
etickis assembill? Othiris do cry, Sall we not now
end of thame; we haif anis found thame out! But
f theis ask, What hath oure lyfe and conversatioun
Vhat have we committit in oure assembleis that de-
leath? Other sum inquyre efter oure goodis,[1] but do
about to understand oure cause. Sum mak thair
g and accounts, what money sall the King (nay, the
ll persecutouris) obtene by oure death, but mak no
how cruell a thing it is to put innocentis to death; And
eane tyme, everie man, efter his pleasure, forgeth new
o lay to our charge, in coloureing and defaceing the
airfoir we suffer. In the streittis, in open rayling, and
house, thai talk of the crymes committit be us; but
not speik it in suche audience as whair it may be law-
nen to defend thameselves. Whairby it may be ease-
avit, that lyke as we do the self-same things that the
faithfull people, oure predicessouris, did, evin sa we
e same wrang that thai did; and thair is at this day
ir thing laid to oure charge then was laid to the charge
of the auncient Kirk. For sum lay to oure chargeis
be seditious and mak commotionis; the same also was
nair charges. Sum say we assembill togidder be nycht

. M. "godis," goods. In *leur biens*, (they inquire what may be
ogie," *on s'enquiert quels sont* their wealth, or possessions.)

to commit huirdome; the lyke was spokin of thame
we mak bankettis, and efter put out the candilli
all maner of villany; the same was reportit of than
sum say we be rebellious to oure Princes; evin so
cusit. Further more, thai wer suddanlie stollen u
assembleis, and had baith stonis and fyre throwi
and wer maist cruellie usit of the commoun pep
same hath bene practisit and usit aganis us. Sa t
Christianis have bene condempnit, and the pepil
sufferit to do what thai wold, whilk in this oure
dent to all men. But yf the follie (yea, rather t
madnes) of the pepill be not correctit be man,
eschaip the judgement of God, who alreadie hath s
his arme to tak vengeance, yf men can [perceave]
reassone with yow, the ignorant, the witles pepil
us of heresie, of blasphemie, seditioun, and of all i
yf that ye yourselves wer not mair nor inrageit,
and considder, Who thai ar that haif faith? Who th
culpabill, and who thai ar that deserve punisment?
that call upon God by godlie prayeris in oure cha
that, being scatterit in everie streat, blaspheme his
making uprore and crying out, and yit knawing n
whairfoir? Who, I pray yow, ought to be judge
We that peace[ablie] abyde in a corner, or ye t
crymes and armour trubill all places?[1] Who ryse
King? We whilk, efter we haif prayit unto God for
yow also, wer found together without weapoun, and
without any resistance maid be us; or ye whilk,
commandement or authoritie of justice, wer found
lang in harness?[2] Ye cry out aganis the wickit;
ar thay that commit wickitnes. Ye cry out agani
and brigandis; and ye yourselves commit violenc

[1] In the "Apologie," *Ou toi qui troublois tout par ton cri et tes armes,* (or thou who disturbest every thing by thy cry and thy arms.)

[2] Ib., *en armes,* (in a

ɔoyllit and robbit be yow, but whilk of us can justlie
tit of injurie done aganis any persone? And yit still
erie whair that we ar wickit, seditious, and disobe-
o oure Prince. But na man luking for the joyfull lyfe
ve ar assureit) will efter this beleive your vane talk;
it gif credit to the common report, nor to thois most
ɩpytfull lies noysit abroad of us and laid to oure charge
is said), that we cum together in the nycht seasone
t huirdome. But frome whence sall this conjecture
or what appearance or lykliehude is thair that we
rde substance, honouris, libertie, and lyfe for satisfac-
the filthie pleasures of the flesche? Yf we wer gevin
niquitie, what suld constreane us to commit the same
t? Is not the libertie to commit huirdome so great
ifest in France, that all estaittis commit the same
chame or punisment? Wha saw ever yit in the Court
oman brunt for that cause? Whois gudis or substance
e confiscat within Pareis, or ellis whair within this
or adulterie; yea, supposing it wer incest or worse?
g I wold demand, and do hartlie desyre reasonable
considder the same. What spreit hath moveit this
hatred of that sin in the hartis of the pepill? and why
we burdenit with theis vyces (whairof God knaweth
frie) and judgeit worthie of the death, and yit ar the
oved and manifestlie sene in othiris without all punis-
The preistis huirdomes ar knawin, and of all men may
e sene. The streitis and houssis ar full of thair bas-
nd yit who heireth the peple cry out upon thame, as
i do aganis us, by whome thai can not prufe any spot
amie?

it is evident, I say, that the Spreit of God hath not
this hatred of sin in the hartis of the rascall mul-
or the Spreit of God, in all men, hateth sin alyke,
h na mair flatter nor foster it in ane sort than in
r. But the cause of thair malice and furious rage

The cause why the fulische multitude hait us.

aganis us is, that we can not rin with thame heidli
ditioun, following as brute beastis the sensuall ap
flesche; and also, because that with thame we wi
pheme the liveing God, in bowing befoir dum
honouring theis goddis, "who hath neither maid
nor the earth;" becaus that oure soverane Captai
Saviour Chryst Jesus (of whois Spreit nor powe
never taistit) hath chosin us frome the warld, a
poyntit us his soldiouris to fight aganis Sathan, an
and convick the warld of sin, as God be praisit
Brethrene do, sum be thair pennis, sum be preachi
be suffering of all tormentis and crueltie, whilk th
sustene for rebuking and refusing manifest iniqu
be the caussis why men do rage aganis us, and not
whilk thameselves commit, and be commoun in
And thairfoir, I wische that the ignorant multitude
lie considder this, changeing thair myndis (yf p
frome condempning us whome lawfullie thai can no
ane horribill cryme, lest that in condempning us th
dempn the estait of the auncient Kirk, declaring
selves to be enrageit by the Divill, and to follow th
the ignorant Gentillis and auld idolateris.

Jeremie 10

John 17.

John 16.

Neutrallis.

As tuiching thois that bend thair browis, and
luke upon the matter for uthir menis pleasure, a
lische fals accusationis and sclanderis aganis us, al
awn consciences, in so doing, do byte and rebuke
ther it be thois that have na uthir God than thai
tioun and covetuousnes, or whether it be thai tha
chas the Princes favour by scheding of oure bl
knawin unto thame, that we compleane of thair
wrong judgement unto the Majestie of oure God,
leif the dispysing of his Word and the spytfull an
treatting of his awn children unpunissit. And lyk
wyse of this warld mock oure doingis, and suppor
blaune us, we send sic to the behaviour and man

Seikeris of promotion.

Kirk; to the end, that the same may answer for us, behaviour, exampill, and maner of the Kirk, yf we arde than we do thois oure enemyis, either yit the of the warldlie-wyse anis; yea, yf we do better and follow the auncient Kirk then either of thame do, it e thame, I hoip, to hald us excusit, seing that of commandementis of God, the autoritie of the Apos- the exempill of the auncient Martyris, aucht muche be followit and embraceit than the febilnes and un- aschnes of oure reassone. We do not deny but warld- nen gave us theis advertismentis: "Youre assemblies ang be keipit secreit, neither yit can thai be discoverit reat danger of thois that salbe found in thame; and it is but fulische hardines in men so to hasarde thame- This was the consall whilk sic pepill gave, and theis easonis whilk thai adduceit, and yit adduce, to dispers ter the lambis assemblit to be fed in the greene and astouris under Chryst Jesus and the trew preacheris of Word. But, O thow that be wyse in youre awn eyis, nk that we wer (or yit ar) so without understanding, aif not foirsene all theis thingis? We understude be- presentlie do knaw, that we duell whair Sathan hath and sinagoge, amangis the middis of thois that [hate] rine. We knaw thair ignorance, and nevir doutit of eltie and malice; yea, we knaw farther, that God p his Gospell with persecutioun. We knaw that the God hath alwayis bene beset with enemyis; but must it thairfoir be separatit frome thois things, and left of the same, that God hath ordanit necessarie for oure n? Or aught we not rather, seing we knaw this to be all estait of the Kirk, that the members must be con- to the Heid; and also, considdering that persecu- Chrystis sake be lang befoir hand appoyntit by his th to sic as will unfeanidlie profess him befoir this eneratioun; aught we not, I say, seing we knaw theis

Yf men confes thair be a God who hath spokin to man in his Word, this may be trew.

The art of Sat han.

Let reasone answer the questioun.

Mat. 10.

Joh. 16. thingis to be most certane, commit the haill cause o
in the handis of Him of whome we have ressavit tha
prepair oureselves to walk in the way whairin he l
that without faynting we determine to seik that br
without whilk oure saullis can not live, and in so do
pair oureselves to embrace that whilk God hath p
us? It is trew that this is nor was not youre cons
it is according to the will and pleasure of God, wh
have his suldioris forsake to follow the standart wh
Worldlie wisdom. the battell and approche to the same. Your great
strong reasone is, that we must go fordward by liti
and not assembill togidder in so great companies by
We do but cast oureselves heidlingis into danger, a
Ma ar sic than men wald think. reassone ye do not onlie keip youreselves frome ou
and assemblies, but also yow restraine and discor
Apo. 3. But have ye not red, that God will spew furth of
thois that ar neither hoit nor cold; that God dely
Psal. 63. plicitie; that he requireth a zeall to his glorie, a
mantenance of his house, that suld eat up, burne, a
the haill man? Do ye not farther considder, that na
crounit except he fight manfullie; and that na man
go too fast in that way whilk God hath anis t
Who was ever disalowit of God for too muche se
Mat. 16. warldlie wisdome call raschnes) in Godis cause? F
Chryst callit Sathan, because he willit him to favo
Mat. 5. But thois that for rychteousness suffer persecutio
Mat. 10. nuncit blissit; yea, and sic as either for feir deny
yit in any case do eschame of Chryst Jesus befoir
generatioun, ar threatnit to be denyit of him befoir
The threatnyngis of God not vane. and his angellis. Yf thai suld considder that Chry
nyngis is not vane, and that oure assembleis ar to con
althocht it be with danger; yf farther thai suld
that on this maner walkit a great number of mai
personis in the primative Kirk, joynit also with a gr
of Martyris, who in sic fervencie did end thair cour

of God and crounit for thair labour: yf men, I say, he zeall and constancie of the former sufferreris, and vey and considder the necessitie of oure cause, thai urdene us with fulische raschenes.

Men prais authoritie, but yet dampn the lyke vertuis present.

v omitting thois to whome the smell of the Egiptian air delectabill then the heavinlie manna, and in whome asone choketh and oppresseth the wisdome whilk God we turne to oure Brethren and Sisteris, whome we knaw travaill in dolour; and to suche we say, that seing reit that oure Lord Jesus Chryst doith not present ithout his crosse, his thornis, his sclanderis, and re- understanding that in following him we salbe haittit ld, we may (nor will) not be abaschit for thois thingis day ar done unto us; neither will we forsaik to serve becaus the ignorant blame us, the hard-hartit perse- d the carnell wyse men do mock us; yea, rather all and by Godis grace salbe) a spur to quicken oure dul- we may the better knaw the great mercie of oure so schyneth upon us, that in the middis of a blind ant multitude he hath chosin us out, and maid us to alie will: And whair his Majestie hath left uthiris in n and hardnes of hart, he hath in his infinit mercie to do him service when uthiris do follow thair awn consallis. He hath maid us in sum part obedient to commandementis, whilk prerogative we haif not of ir nor the maist ignorant, neither of any worthines frome us, but by grace onlie, by whilk we ar maid n and follow the steppis of sa many faithfull and ex- artyris, hoping also be the sam to haif the power to overcum all crueltie by oure pacience. And thair- protest and witnes befoir men, that we mair lament nes of thois that persecut us, especiallie oure King rinces (wha be Chrystis enemyis ar abusit), than we mentis or trubillis whilk we sall indure, and ar pre- us. For Him whome we serve we do prefer befoir

Chryst and his rock are joynit, so that without the one . . .

Mat. 16.

(Note) Lord be mercifull to us!

oure pleasuris, honoris, yea, evin befoir oure awn
althocht his habitatioun be in the heavin, yit si
yneugh the cruell injureis that we indure, and ar p
us, and sall not faill to revenge thame when the p
be in greattest securitie. And thairfoir, deir Brethr
teris, let us with ane voce and mynd call to God,
great mercie it will please him to grant us his grac
to continew unto the end, dispyssing, with the ho
that haif passit befoir us, the thingis temporall. T
thai and we haif one Captane, do manteane ane sel
rell, and indure the lyke assaltis, evin so we may b
the same constancie, and so enjoy with thame the
by Jesus Chryst,[1] whois halie and omnipotent Sp
and assist us, and all thois that travale in the qu
treuth, to the end. Amen.

The Communioun of Sanctis.

ACTIS THE 20.

*Upon a Saboth-day, the Discipiles being assemblit
bread, Paule, becaus he was to depart upon
held purpois with thame, and continewit in
tioun till midnycht; and in the chamer wh
assemblit thair wer many lampis.*

ADDITIOUN [BY KNOX.]

THIS sentence of Scripture oure Brethrene addit t
logie, to lat men understand, that to convene ar
upon the nycht, to heir the preaching of the Go
breaking of the misticall bread, was usit in the
Apostillis, when that the professouris of Chryst Je
so cruellie persecutit as thai be this day; and tha
no man to wonder althocht the faithfull, in the
Sathan beireth regement, do follow the exempill of

[1] The following words, and also the passage quoted from the Acts of the Apostles, are not inserted in the "Apologie," as repul
"Histoire des Martyrs

an deny to have bene gydit, taught, and inspyrit by Gaist; but heirof befoir is sufficientlie spokin. In f this Apologie, I haif usit a greatter libertie than will approve in a translatour or interpretour; for s littill as I culd (keiping the proprietie of the tounge wryt), I have addit many thingis, asweill wordis as tences. And efter this, as God sall grant me oppor- purpois to add maîr, partlie becaus oure Brethrene in d upon schort advysment set furth sumwhat (and ufficient) to stop the blasphemous mouthis of thair iris, and thairfoir wer compellit to use great brevitie; e becaus sic as studie and think to serve baith God noun can not yit be convictit that thai haif offendit e Brethrene in that, that thai accuse thame of un- aschnes; but still thai bark, that be fulische and sall we mar all: becaus that the servandis of God stponde nor delay to glorifie his halie name, in giving till his commandentis till worldlie wyse men think peik the treuth, till the Divill command. And be- gis yow, asweill as heir with us, thair may be sum have addit sum reassonis and sentences, to the end glass (yf thai be not altogether blind) thai may con- ir awne faces spottit befoir God with carnall wis- l enemye to his blissit Majestie. Rest in Chryst, and lie for me in youre prayeris. The grace of oure s abyde with yow. Amen.

Lord, luk on us in this miserable land!

th judgement, and let cheritie judge. In haist, from 7th of December 1557.

Your Brother trubillit,

JOHNE KNOX.

THE FIRST BLAST

OF THE TRUMPET AGAINST THE MONSTROUS REGIMENT OF WOMEN.

M.D.LVIII.

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arious writings of the Reformer, no one was the occa-
xciting greater odium than his First Blast against the
us Regiment or Government of Women. Unlike all his
blications, it appeared anonymously, although he had
ion of ultimately concealing his name. His purpose
tells us, "Thrice to Blow the Trumpet in the same
if God so permit;" and, on the last occasion, to an-
himself as the writer, to prevent any blame being im-
others. This intention, it is well known, was never
nto effect. That Knox's views were in harmony with
his colleagues, Goodman, Whittingham, and Gilby,
rdly be stated; but the reception of the little work
firmed the Author's opinion, that it would not escape
rehension of many." This may in a great measure be
d to the course of public events within a few months
blication.

ubject of Female Government had engaged his atten-
n earlier period. One of his Questions submitted to
r in 1554 was, "Whether a Female can preside over,
a kingdom by divine right?"[1] And in answer to some
egarding the Apparel of Women, he himself says, that
en take upon them the office which God hath assigned
they shall not escape the Divine malediction."[2] In his
s to the foregoing Apology for the Protestants at Paris,
sses his conviction that the government of Princes had
that state of iniquity, that "no godly person can enjoy
authority under them."[3] This assertion indeed was not
applicable to Female government; but his feelings in

. p. 222.
p. 228.

[3] *Supra*, p. 327.

reference to the persecutions in England under M
Scotland under the Queen Regent, impelled him t
subject which all others at the time seemed most s
avoid. His First Blast was probably written at Die
the end of 1557; and it was printed early in the fo
at Geneva, as is apparent upon comparison with
from the press of John Crespin in that city.

A copy of the work having been sent to John
residing at Basel, he wrote "a loving and friendl
the author, in which he expostulates with him on
priety of the publication. In Knox's reply, dated
May 1558, he says, he will not excuse "his rude
and inconsidered affirmations, which may appear ra
ceed from choler than of zeal and reason:" "To m
"it is enough to say, that black is not white, and ma
and foolishness is not God's perfect ordinance."[1]

The similar work of Goodman on "Obedience
Powers," which appeared at Geneva about the sam
also suggested by the persecuting spirit which the
But both works were published somewhat unsea
such questions on Government and Obedience, it i
served, might have been more fitly argued when a
pened to fill the throne. The terms used by Goo
ference to Mary, Queen of England, are not less
unseemly. She died on the 17th of November 15
successor regarded the authors of these works with
dislike, although neither of them, in their writing
special reference, or the least intention of giving
Queen Elizabeth.

In the month of January 1559, when Knox to
leave of Geneva, and proceeded to Dieppe, he ap
English Government for permission to pass through
nions, with the intention of visiting his friends at Ne
Berwick, on his way to Scotland. This request w

[1] This letter will appear in the next volume of his W

ed; and on the 6th of April, he says, in a letter n Dieppe, "My First Blast hath blown from me all in England." His letters at this time addressed to Cecil, from Dieppe and Edinburgh, enclosing one to beth, are inserted in his History.[1] From the originals, ill preserved, they will also be given in the next vo- Works. To Cecil he says, "It is bruited, that my book written against. If so be, Sir, I greatlie feare that all rather hurt nor mend the matter, which they would ntain." Again, "I hear that there is a Confutation print against The First Blast. God grant that the no more sought the favour of this present estate, glory of God, and the stable commoditie of his con- d he who enterprized in that Blast to utter his con- Then I shall have tyme (which now is somewhat o me) to peruse that work, I will communicate my ith you." To the Queen, while he disclaims his maliciously or on purpose offended her Grace, he an not deny the writting of a book against the thority and unjust Regiment of Women; neither nded to retract or call back any principall point or of the same, till truth and verity do further appeir."[2] ssions were not calculated to obtain a favourable ut his desire to avoid giving further offence to the ablished authority caused him to abstain from Answer referred to, as he might have been in- l stronger terms to justify his sentiments on this

r Queen Mary's arrival in Scotland, Knox has de- ubstance of his first conference with her, in which plained of his having written a book against her y, which she said she had caused, or would cause rned in Europe to answer. In reply, he expressed nent that all learned men should judge of it. "I

[1] Vol. ii. pp. 16, 26. [2] Ib. p. 28.

hear that an Englishman hath written against it,
read him. But to this hour I have thought, and
self alone to be more able to sustain the things afi
my work, then any ten in Europe shall be able to

The work thus referred to appeared anonymo
author was John Aylmer, one of the English exile
Bishop of London.[2] He says, "I wished that
learned man would have answered it;" and "for
hoped of this at some men's hands, and heard of
now gone to God, that he had taken it upon hin
my self for a time to medle with it, least that a g
il handling, should in the judgment of some sen
His wish in doing so was "to let the world un
this infection is not blown in by the Blast to al n
His object is thus stated by Strype: "He wrot
sultation, as it seems, holden among the exiles,
obtain the favour of the new Queen, and to tak
lousie she might conceive of them and the reli
fessed, by reason of an ill book a little before
Knox, a Scotchman and fellow-exile, who had as
that it was unlawful for Women to reign, and
in his Word."[3] The two works were written
under very different circumstances; and Aylme
his purpose was "to defend the cause, *and not to*
seeing this errour rose not of malice but of zele
ing more to the present crueltie that then was

[1] Vol. ii. p. 278.

[2] Bishop Aylmer, or Ælmer, was born in 1521, educated at Cambridge, and became tutor in the family of the Marquess of Dorset, afterwards Duke of Suffolk. One of his pupils was the Lady Jane Grey. He was preferred to the Archdeaconry of Stowe, in the diocese of Lincoln. After Queen Mary's accession, he withdrew to the Continent. The freedom of some of his remarks on the
to have retarded hi
but in 1562 he ob
deaconry of Linco
was promoted to th
He died in 1596.
Strype, London, 17
article "Aylmer" i
Britannica.

[3] Strype's Life o
Lond. 1701, 8vo.

venience that after might follow; wherein surely his somewhat to be pardoned, considerynge the grief that, od member of that bodie which then suffered, he felte eat sorrow and trouble."[1]

ork of Aylmer appeared under the following title:

HARBOROVVE FOR FAITHFVLL AND TREVVE SVBIECTES, he late blowne Blaste, concerninge the Gouernment of : wherin be confuted all such reasons as a straunger nade in that behalfe, with a breife exhortation to CE. Anno. M.D.lix. (Proverbes. 32. *Many daughters*, At Strasborowe the 26. of Aprill." Small 4to, sign. , in fours.

Reply to the First Blast, Knox's name is not mentut Aylmer introduces some allusions to him, in no unpirit. "*For I have that opinion of the man's honestie nes*, that he will not disdayne to heare better reasons, th to be taught in any thing he misseth."[2]—"So this seyng the tormentes of martyres, the murdryng of th'imprissonment of innocentes, the racking of the e banishyng of Christ, the receivyng of Antechriste, ing of subjects, the mayntenance of straungers, the f warres, the losse of Englandes honour, the purchasatred where we had love, the procuring of trouble had peax, the spending of treasure where it was nd, to be short, all out of joynt: *He could not but misRegiment from whence such frutes did spring.*" Only, he was not to be excused in swerving from the partistion to the general, as though all Female Government rary to "Nature, Reason, Right, and Lawe; because present state then, through the faulte of the persone, f the Sexe, was unnaturall, unreasonable, unjust, and *If he had kept him in that particular persone* (Mary d), *he could have said nothing too muche*, nor in such could have offended any indifferent man. And this

[1] Harborowe, &c., sign. B 1. [2] Ib. sign. C 1.

againe would [should] have been considered, That
tion were to be handled, yet was it not mete to l
doubt at that time, when it could not, nor yet can,
(were it never so evill) without manifest and viol
them that be in place. For if it were unlawful (as
it) that that Sexe should governe, yet is it not u
they should enherit; and in this point their enher
lynked with the empyre, that you can not pluck
th'one without robbing them of th'other. This
better have been moved when the Sceptre was or
hand of the male,"[1] &c. To the same purpose
says, "*The Blast was blowen out of season.*"[2]

The other work, already mentioned, by Knox
Christopher Goodman, appeared about the same ti
with a reception not less ungracious, and subseque
the author in much trouble. It is entitled, "Ho
POWERS OVGHT TO BE OBEYD OF THEIR SUBJECTS:
they may lawfully, by God's Worde, be disobeyed
Wherin also is declared the cause of all this prese
England, and the onely way to remedy the same.
TOPHER GOODMAN. Printed at Geneva by I
M.D.LVIII." 12mo. pp. 238. It is introduced with
W. WHITTINGHAM; and at the close are some ver
LIAM KETHE. The same date, "Geneva, this first
M.D.LVIII,"[3] occurs in Whittingham's addition, at t
book itself, and in the colophon.

That these works, and every person supposed
similar sentiments, should be regarded with mar
by Queen Elizabeth, need excite no surprise. I
ning of the year 1559, Calvin having revised and re
Commentaries on Isaiah, originally dedicated to
in 1551, he addressed the work in a printed E
Majesty; but his messenger brought him back w

[1] Sign. B 2.
[2] Marg. note, sign. C ij.
[3] This date is obviously according to our present mode
copies of the work ha
land during the life o

vas not kindly received by her Majesty, because she offended with him by reason of some writings pub-ch his approbation at Geneva. Calvin felt so greatly at this imputation, that he addressed a letter to Sir Cecil,[1] in which he expresses himself with no small de-asperity on the subject of Knox's First Blast. He wo years ago John Knox asked of me, in a private ion, what I thought about the Government of Women. y replied, that as it was a deviation from the original er order of nature, it was to be ranked, no less than among the punishments consequent upon the fall of t that there were occasionally women so endowed, that lar good qualities which shone forth in them made it hat they were raised up by Divine authority; either designed by such examples to condemn the inactivity r for the better setting forth his own glory. I brought Huldah and Deborah; and added, that God did not omise by the mouth of Isaiah, that Queens should be ng mothers of the Church; by which prerogative it is ent that they are distinguished from females in private ame at length to this conclusion, that since, both by nd public consent, and long practice, it has been esta-hat realms and principalities may descend to females tary right, it did not appear to me necessary to move ion, not only because the thing would be invidious, use in my opinion it would not be lawful to unsettle nts which are ordained by the peculiar providence of *had no suspicion of the book, and for a whole year was of its publication.* When I was informed of it by cer-ies, I sufficiently shewed my displeasure that such s should be published; but as the remedy was too ought that the evil which could not now be corrected, ther be buried in oblivion than made a matter of agi-

ter is not dated, but it was to one written on the 29th of January 1559. Zürich Letters, Second Series, p. 35.

tation. Inquire also at your father-in-law [Sir Anthony Cooke], what my reply was when he informed me of the circumstance through Beza. And Mary was still living, so that I could not be suspected of flattery. *What the books contain, I cannot tell; but Knox himself will allow that my conversation with him was no other then what I have now stated.*" Calvin then proceeds to say, that great confusion might have arisen by any decided opposition, and there would have been cause to fear, that in such a case, "by reason of the thoughtless arrogance of one individual,[1] the wretched crowd of exiles would have been driven away, not only from this city (of Geneva), but even from almost the whole world."[2]

Some years later, and subsequent to Calvin's death, Beza, in a letter to Bullinger, adverts to Queen Elizabeth's continued dislike to the Church of Geneva. In this letter, dated the 3d of September 1566, he says, "For as to our Church, I would have you know that it is so hateful to the Queen [of England], that on this account she has never said a single word in acknowledgement of the gift of my Annotations [on the New Testament]. The reason of her dislike is twofold; one, because we are accounted too severe and precise, which is very displeasing to those who fear reproof; the other is, because formerly, though without our knowledge, during the lifetime of Queen Mary, two books were published here in the English language, one by Master Knox against the Government of Women, the other by Master Goodman on the Rights of the Magistrate. *As soon as we learned the contents of each, we were much displeased, and their sale was forbidden in consequence;* but she, notwithstanding, cherishes the opinion she has taken into her head."[3]

Copies of both works had been privately sent to England, during Queen Mary's reign, but were rigorously prohibited. Strype notices the case of one Linthall of Southwark, who, in

[1] The original words are, "ob inconsideratum unius hominis fastum."

[2] Zürich Letters, Second Series, p. 34.

[3] Ib. p. 131.

taken into custody on account of his religion, and
before Bishop Bonner's Chancellor. Among the books
ssession which were seized, was a copy of "The First
nd it was told to Linthall's friends, "that he had in
g a book by which he could make him guilty of trea-
have him hanged, drawn, and quartered. But the
ickness at that time saved him, and the Chancellor
ls for his appearance, and so dismissed him."[1]
rence to Goodman's work, it may be mentioned that
sed a letter to Peter Martyr, on the 20th of August
which he says, "I requested the judgment of Master
which you very properly attach much weight, before
was published, and I shewed him the same proposi-
h I sent to you. And though he deemed them some-
h, especially to those who are in the place of power,
for this reason they should be handled with caution,
vertheless admitted them to be true." Bishop Jewel,
also addressed to Peter Martyr, from London, on the
pril 1559, says, "I hear that Goodman is in this coun-
so that he dare not show his face, and appear in pub-
much better would it have been to have been wise
f he will but acknowledge his error, there will be no
But as he is a man of irritable temper, and too perti-
any thing that he has once undertaken, I am rather
t he will not yield."[3] Milton, in quoting the works of
and others, eloquently says, "These were the pastors
ints and confessors, who, flying from the bloody perse-
Queen Mary, gathered up at length their scattered
into many congregations. . . . *These were the true*
Divines of England, our Fathers in the faith we
Goodman finding himself so circumstanced, and com-
otland in September 1559, he became minister at

Annals, vol. i. p. 129.
Letters, 1537–1558, Eng-
ation, *Parker Society*, p.

[3] Zürich Letters, by the *Parker Society*, p. 21.

[4] The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates.

Ayr, and afterwards at St Andrews. He returned to England in the year 1565, and having made a protestation of obedience, and afterwards a special retractation of the doctrines which had proved so offensive to Queen Elizabeth, he obtained some preferment, having been collated to the Archdeaconry of Richmond, in Yorkshire. He was also Rector of Alford, but was deprived of his living for nonconformity, by Vaughan, Bishop of Chester. He died on the 4th of June 1603, and was buried in St Werburgh's or St Bride's Church, in his native city of Chester, at the advanced age of eighty-five.[1]

Other parties who were exasperated by the "First Blast" were the Roman Catholics, and the adherents of Mary Queen of Scots. The Queen herself, as we have seen, in her first conference with the Reformer, charged him with maintaining such opinions; and two works, of a later date, which were written by John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, and David Chalmers of Ormond, were no doubt considered as refutations of Knox's sentiments on Female Government.

Another Popish writer who alludes to the sentiments of Knox and Goodman may be more particularly noticed. The work is entitled, "An Oration against the Vnlawfull Insurrections of the Protestantes of our time, vnder pretence to Refourme Religion. Made and pronounced in Latin, in the Schole of Artes at Lovaine, the xiiij. of December, Anno 1565. By Peter Frarin of Antwerp, M. of Artes, and Batchelor of both Lawes. And now translated into Englishe with the aduise of the Author. Antverpiæ, ex officina Ioannis Fouleri. M.D.LXVI." Small 8vo. John Fouler, the publisher, who was also the translator, dates it from Andwerp, the 9th of May 1566. His additions have imparted to it the character of a new work. In the following passages, it will be observed that his reference to Knox's book is to the "Faithful Admonition" in 1554,[2] while he has by mistake attributed the "First Blast" to Goodman:

[1] See Strype's Annals, vol. i. pp. 126, 184; Willis's Cathedrals, Chester, p. 344; and Wood's Athenæ Oxon., Bliss's edit., vol. i. p. 723.

[2] See vol. iii. pp. 294, 295.

d declare unto you, how the traiterouse Gospellers of gathered a maine hoste againste their moste vertuouse ene Marie, the rare treasure, peerlesse jewell, that moste oaterne & example of our daies. How they shotte ar- d dartes againste her courte gates, conspired her death, to poison her, to kil her with a dagge at one time, with dagger at an other time, reuiled her, called her bastard, r, printed seditiouse bokes againste her, wherein they t her like Hell-houndes, and named her traiterouse nischeuouse Marie."—(Sign. E. v.[b])

Wiates' Rebellion.

KNOKES BOKE.

ere too long to rehearse, how the noble Queene of Scot- at now raigneth, was driuen a great while to liue like a iuat woman in her own Realme, to obey her own sub- nd to doe no more then they gave her leaue: yea, and neane tyme, was euerie daye and euery houre in greate danger of her life among them."—(Sign. E. vj.)

GOODMAN'S BOKE AGAINSTE THE MONSTRUOUS RAIGNE OF WOMEN.

h the lyke sprite, one Goodman, an Englisshe man, an and hotte preacher of this Gospell, for a grudge and e bore againste his Soueraigne Ladie and Mystresse the moste hyghe and Honorable Quene of Englande, ette out a monstruous Booke in deede a fewe yeares ainste the monstruouse Raygne of Women, as he sayed: impudente, vile, and shameless villaine Traitor called ste noble and vertuouse woman Proserpine (whome the faine to be Quene of Hel); and for her sake gathering and stomake against all women, he railed at them all, iled them, & like a common scolde would by his wil cookinge stole all the whole flocke and generation of kinde.

saied, it was neither law, nor right, nor reason, that any should be a Ruler and syt in the Princelie Seate of any n weale: that it might well seeme a monstruouse rule, ntrarye to nature, if men were compelled to obey a n: if women were suffred to beare the sway and gouerne like estate of any kingdome."—(Sign. F. ij.)

But the most curious part of the volume is the series of thirty-six small wood-cuts,[1] with verses underneath, as illustrative of the Oration, with this title: "The Table of this Booke, set out not by order of Alphabete or numbre, but by expresse figure, to the eyesight of the Christian Reader, and of him also that cannot reade." The following is an accurate facsimile of one representing Goodman and Knox sounding their trumpets in the ears of the Queens of England and Scotland.

No Queene in her kingdome can or ought to syt fast;
If Knokes or Goodmans bookes blowe any true blast.

On the opposite page is an exact facsimile of the original title of the "First Blast." The volume, as might be anticipated, is of considerable rarity, and it is now reprinted in a complete and accurate manner. When, in the course of the same year, 1558, Knox published his Appellation (see *infra*), he annexed the heads of what he purposed to enforce in the "Second Blast;" but this intention he left unfulfilled.

[1] Frarin's Oration was printed at Louvain, 1566, 12mo. The translation of Frarin's Oration was reprinted "with Licence," but without date or place of printing. It was evidently printed abroad, about the year 1600. In this republication, the wood-cut illustrations and the English verses are wholly omitted.

THE FIRST BLAST OF THE TRUMPET AGAINST THE MONSTRVOVS regiment of women.

Veritas temporis filia.

M· D· LVIII·

In 12mo, printed in Roman Letter,
Sign. A to G, in eights, or 56 leaves, numbered.

In the edition of Knox's History of the Reformation, Edinburgh, 1732, folio, there were added, "several curious pieces wrote by him; particularly that most rare and scarce one, entitled, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women.*" But this tract is very unfaithfully reprinted, as numerous passages are omitted or abridged.

A still more faithless edition, "Edinburgh, printed by Thomas Lumisden and John Robertson, M.DCC.XXXIII.," 4to, pp. 30, was annexed to the republication of David Buchanan's edition of the History and Treatises, "Edinburgh, re-printed by Thomas Lumisden and John Robertson, and sold at their Printing-house in the Fish-market, 1731," 4to. See vol. ii. p. 465.

In M'Gavin's editions of the History of the Reformation, Glasgow, 1831 and 1832, 8vo, the "First Blast" is reprinted with apparent accuracy, by correcting "a vast number of errors, and some considerable omissions" in the former editions, by the aid of a collated copy, furnished by the late Dr M'Crie. "This (he adds) has enabled me to give this, the most celebrated of Knox's productions, perhaps verbatim as it was published by himself." The collations referred to by Mr M'Gavin cannot have been completed, as, in the latter portion in particular, there are many passages either abridged or omitted. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the present text is a faithful republication of the original work.

THE PREFACE.

The Kingdome apperteineth to our God.

it is, that amongest so many pregnant wittes as the eate Britany hath produced, so many godlie and zealous s as England did sometime norishe, and amongest so rned, and men of grave judgement, as this day by are exiled, none is found so stowte of courage, so faith- od, nor loving to thair native countrie, that they dare e the inhabitantes of that Ile, how abominable before e Empire or Rule of a wicked woman, yea, of a trai- and bastard; and what may a people or nation, left of a lawfull head, do by the authoritie of Goddes in electing and apponting common rulers and magi- That Ile (alas) for the contempt and horrible abuse es mercies offred, and for the shamefull revolting to me Christ Jesus, and frome his Gospell ones professed, tlie merite to be left in the handes of their own coun- so to come to confusion and bondage of strangiers. I feare that this universall negligence of such as som- ere estemed watchemen shall rather aggravate our ngratitude, then excuse this our universall and ungod- e in so weightie a matter. We se our countrie set r a pray to foreine nations, we heare the blood of our , the membres of Christ Jesus, most cruellie to be l the monstruous empire of a cruell woman (the secrete of God excepted) we know to be the onlie occasion of miseries: and yet with silence we passe the time, as he matter did nothinge appertein to us. But the con- amples of the auncient Prophetes move me to doubte

Negligence of Watchemen.

The diligence of the olde Prophetes of God.

of this our fact. For Israel did universalie decline from God by embracing idolatrie under Jeroboam. In which they did continue even unto the destruction of their common-welthe. And Juda withe Jerusalem did followe the vile superstition and open iniquitie of Samaria. But yet ceased not the Prophetes of God to admonishe the one and the other: Yea, even after that God had poured furthe his plagues upon them. For Jeremie did write to the captives in Babylon, and did correct their errors, plainlie instructing them who did remaine in the middest of that idolatrouse nation. Ezechiel, frome the middest of his brethren prisoners in Chaldea, did write his vision to those that were in Jerusalem; and, sharplie rebukinge their vices, assured them that they should not escape the vengeance of God, by reason of their abominations committed.

1 Reg. 12.

Ezech. 16.

Jerem. 29.

Ezech. 7, 8, 9.

God alway had his people amongest the wicked, who never lacked their Prophetes and Teachers.

Isaie 13.
Jerem. 46.
Ezech. 36.

The same Prophetes, for comfort of the afflicted and chosen saintes of God, who did lie hyd amongest the reprobate of that age (as commonlie doth the corne amongest the chaffe), did prophecie and before speake the changes of kingdomes, the punishmentes of tyrannes, and the vengeance which God wold execute upon the oppressors of his people. The same did Daniel, and the rest of the Prophets, everie one in their season. By whose examples, and by the plaine precept which is geven to Ezechiel, commanding him that he shall say to the wicked, "Thou shalt die the death," we in this our miserable age are bounde to admonishe the world, and the tyrannes therof, of their sodeine destruction, to assure them, and to crie unto them, whether they list to heare or not, "That the blood of the Saintes, which by them is shed, continuallie crieth and craveth vengeance in the presence of the Lorde of Hostes." And further, it is our dutie to open the truth reveled unto us, unto the ignorant and blind world; unlest[1] that to our owne condemnation, we list to wrap up and hyde the talent committed to our charge. I am assured, that God hath reveled to some in this our age, that it is more then a monstre in nature

Examples what Teachers oght to do in this time.
Ezech. 2.

Apoca 6.

[1] That is, "unless."

Voman shall reigne and have empire above Man. And
us all there is suche silence, as if God therewith were
offended. The naturall man, ennemy to God, shall fynd,
, many causes why no suche doctrine oght to be pub-
n those our dangerous dayes. First, for that it may
tend to sedition. Secondarilie, it shall be dangerous,
e to the writer or publisher, but also to all such as
ade the writinges, or favor this truth spoken: And last,
not amend the chief offenders, partlie because it shall
ome to their eares, and partlie because they will not be
hed in such cases. I answer, Yf any of these be a suf-
eason, that a truth knowen shall be conceled, then were
cient Prophetes of God very fooles, who did not better
for their owne quietnes, then to hasard their lives for
g of vices, and for the opening of such crimes as were
wen to the world. And Christ Jesus did injurie to his
s, commanding them to preache repentance and remis-
synnes in his name to everie realme and nation. And
lid not understand his oune libertie, when he cried,
e to me, if I preache not the Evangile!" Yf feare, I say,
ecution, of sclander, or of any inconvenience before
might have excused and discharged the servantes of God
ainlie rebuking the sinnes of the world, juste cause had
one of them to have ceased frome their office. For
e their doctrine was accused by termes of sedition, of
arning, and of treason. Persecution and vehement trou-
shortlie come upon the professors with the preachers:
Princes, and worldlie Rulers did conspire against God,
ainst his anoynted Christ Jesus. But what? Did any
e move the Prophetes and Apostles to faynt in their
n? No. But by the resistance which the Devill made
n by his suppostes were they the more inflamed to
e the truthe reveled unto them; and to witnesse with
ood, that grevous condemnation and Goddes hevie ven-
shuld folowe the proude contempt of graces offred. The

Three chief reasons that do stay Man from speaking the Truthe.

1 Cor. 9.

Mat. 23. Act. 18, 21.

Psalm 2. Act. 4.

fidelitie, bold courage, and constancie of those that are passed before us, ought to provoke us to folowe their footsteppes, onles we loke for another kingdome than Christ hath promised to such as persevere in profession of his name to the end. Yf any think that the empire of Women is not of such importance, that for the suppressing of the same any man is bounde to hasarde his life; I answer, that to supresse it is in the hand of God alone. But to utter the impietie and abomination of the same, I say, it is the dutie of everie true messager[1] of God to whome the truth is reveled in that behalfe. For the especial dutie of Goddes messagers is to preache repentance, to admonishe the offenders of their offenses, and to say to the wicked, "Thou shalt die the death, except thou repent." This I trust will no man denie to be the propre office of all Goddes messagers, to preache (as I have said) repentance and remission of synnes. But neither of both can be done, except the conscience of the offenders be accused and convicted of transgression. But howe shall any man repent, not knowing wherin he hath offended? And where no repentance is founde, there can be no entrie to grace. And therfore I say, that of necessitie it is that this monstriferouse empire of Women (which amongest all enormities that this day do abound upon the face of the whole earth, is most detestable and damnable) be openlie reveled and plainlie declared to the world, to the end that some may repent and be saved. And thus farre to the first sort.

It is necessarie for everie man to open the Impietie whiche he knoweth to hurt his Common-welth.

No man can repent except he knowe his synne.

To suche as thinke that it will be long before such doctrine come to the eares of the chief offenders, I answer, that the veritie of God is of that nature, that at one time or at other it will pourchace to it selfe audience. It is an odour and smell, that can not be suppressed; yea, it is a trumpet that will sound in despite of the adversarie. It will compell the verie enemies, to their own confusion, to testifie and beare witnesse of it. For I finde that the prophecie and preaching of Heliseus

The propertie of Goddes Truth.

[1] From the French *messager*, messenger.

ed in the hall of the King of Syria, by the servauntes
ers of the same wicked King, making mention that
eclared to the King of Israel whatsoever the said 2 Reg. 6.
yria spoke in his most secret chamber. And the Mat. 14.
workes of Jesus Christ were notified to Herode, not
t praise or commendation of his doctrine, but rather
that Christ called that tyranne a fox, and that he
re regarde his authoritie then did John the Baptist,
rode before had beheaded for the libertie of his
But whether the bearers of the rumours and tidinges
rers of Christ, or flatterers of the tyranne, certein it
fame, as well of Christes doctrine as of his workes,
he eares of Herod: even so may the sounde of our
npet, by the support of some wynd (blowe it from
or blowe it from the northe, it is of no mater), come
s of the chief offenders. But whether it do or not, Rom. 1.
e not cease to blowe as God will give strength. For
tors to mo than to Princes, to witte, to the multi- The ignorant multitude hath set up the Authority of Women, not knowinge the danger.
ir brethren, of whome, no doubte, a great nomber
ofore offended by errour and ignorance, geving their
consent, and helpe to establishe Women in their
and empires,[1] not understanding howe abominable,
d detestable is all such usurped authoritie in the
f God. And therfore must the truthe be plainlie
at the simple and rude multitude may be admo-

, in his work on Obe-
rype has remarked, also
ghs against those Pro-
y and counsellors that
Mary, whom he calls an
wicked woman, and an
astard; quoting various
show the man and his
octrines." He notices
n's book was quoted by
t is, Robert Parsons the
he purpose of charging
the Protestants with rebellion to their Prince. Dr Sutcliffe, in his Answer to Parsons, says, "Goodman did not like rebellion, but misliked Women's government; and that this opinion he himself has since retracted." (Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 126.) Milton (*supra*, p. 359,) quotes Knox as well as Goodman, in his "Tenure of Kings and Magistrates," &c., edit. 1650.

And as concerning the danger which may hereof insue, I am not altogether so brutishe and insensible, but that I have laid mine accompt what the finishinge of the worke may coste me for my own parte. First, I am not ignorant how difficile and dangerous it is to speake against a common error, especiallie when that the ambitious mindes of men and women are called to the obedience of Goddes simple commandement. For to the most parte of men, lawfull and godlie appeareth whatsoever antiquitie hath received. And secondarelie, I looke to have more adversaries, not onlie of the ignorant multitude, but also of the wise, politike, and quiet spirites of this world, so that as well shall suche as ought to mainteine the truth and veritie of God, become enemies to me in this case, as shall the Princes and ambitious persons, who to mainteine their unjust tyrannie do alwayes studie to suppresse the same. And thus I am moste certeinlie persuaded, that my labour shall not escape reprehension of many. But because I remembre that accompte of the talentes received must be made to Him, who neither respecteth the multitude, nether yet approveth the wisdome, policie, peace, nor antiquitie, concluding or determining any thinge against his eternall will, reveled to us in his moste blessed Worde, I am compelled to cover myne eyes, and shut up myne eares, that I nether se the multitude that shall withstand me in this matter, nether that I shall heare the opprobries, nor consider the dangers which I may incurre for uttering the same. I shalbe called foolishe, curious, despitefull, and a sower of sedition: and one day parchance (althogh now be nameles) I may be attainted of treason. But seing that impossible it is, but that ether I shall offend God, dailie calling to my conscience that I ought to manifest the veritie knowen, or elles that I shall displease the worlde for doing the same; I have determined to obey God, notwithstanding that the world shall rage thereat. I knowe that the world offended (by Goddes permission) may kill the bodie; but Goddes Majestie offended hath power to punishe bodie and soule for ever. His Majestie is offended

A very dangerous thing to speake against olde errors.

Accomptes will be had of Goddes giftes.

The cause moving the Author to write.

at his preceptes are contemned, and his threatninges to be of none effect. And amongest his manifold pre- even to his Prophetes, and amongest his threatninges, more vehement than is that which is pronounced by , in these wordes: "Sonne of man, I have appointed watchman to the house of Israel, that thou shuldest m my mouthe the worde, and that thou maist admo- em plainlie, when I shall say to the wicked man: O thou shalt assuredlie die. Then if thou shall not hat thou maist plainlie admonishe him that he may wicked way, the wicked man shall die in his iniquitie, lood will I requier of thy hand. But and if thou shalt dmonishe th'wicked man, and yet he shall not turne s way, such a one shall die in his iniquitie, but thou vered thy soule." Ezech. 33.

recept, I say, with the threatning annexed, togither rest that is spoken in the same chapter, not to Eze- ie, but to everie one whom God placeth watchman over le and flocke, (and watchmen are they, whose eyes he n, and whose conscience he pricketh to admonishe the) compelleth me to utter my conscience in this matter, tanding that the whole worlde shuld be offended with o doing. Yf any wonder why I do concele my name, be assured, that the feare of corporall punishment is e onlie, nether the chief cause. My purpose is thrise the Trumpet in the same mater, if God so permitte: ntend to do it without name; but at the Last Blast to blame upon myselfe, that all others may be purged. For the Author's Name.

[1] *Thee* in the original is uniformly printed *the*.

THE FIRST BLAST,

TO AWAKE WOMEN DEGENERATE.

te a Woman to beare rule, superioritie, dominion, or
bove any Realme, Nation, or Citie, is repugnant to
contumelie to God, a thing most contrarious to his re-
and approved ordinance; and finallie, it is the sub-
f good Order, of all equitie and justice.
probation of this Proposition, I will not be so curious
ner what soever may amplifie, set furth, or decore the
t I am purposed, even as I have spoken my conscience
laine and few wordes, so to stand content with a simple
everie membre, bringing in for my witnesse Goddes
in Nature, his plaine will revelled in his Worde, and
indes of such as be moste auncient amongest godlie

rst, where that I affirme the empire of a Woman to
repugnant to Nature, I meane not onlie that God, by
of his creation, hath spoiled woman of authoritie and
but also that man hath seen, proved, and pronounced
s why that it shuld be. Man, I say, in many other
d, doth in this behalfe see verie clearlie. For the
so manifest, that they can not be hid. For who can
it is repugneth to nature, that the blind shall be ap-
leade and conduct such as do see? That the weake,
and impotent persons shall norishe and kepe the
strong? And finallie, that the foolishe, madde, and
e shal governe the discrete, and give counsel to such
er of mind? And such be al women, compared unto

Causes why Women shuld not have pre-eminence over men.

man in bearing of authoritie. For their sight in civile regiment is but blindnes; their strength, weaknes; their counsel, foolishnes; and judgment, phrensie, if it be rightlie considered.

Private examples do not breake generall ordinance.

I except such as God, by singular priviledge, and for certain causes, known onlie to himselfe, hath exempted from the common ranke of women, and do speake of women as nature and experience do this day declare them. Nature, I say, doth paynt them furthe to be weake, fraile, impacient, feble, and foolishe; and experience hath declared them to be unconstant, variable, cruell, and lacking the spirit of counsel and regiment. And these notable faultes have men in all ages espied in that kinde, for the whiche not onlie they have removed women from rule and authoritie, but also some have thoght that men subject to the counsel or empire of their wyves were unworthie of all public office. For thus writeth Aristotle in the Seconde of his Politikes: What difference shal we put, saith he, whether that Women beare authoritie, or the husbandes that obey the empire of their wyves, be appointed to be Magistrates? For what insueth the one, must nedes folowe the other, to witte, injustice, confusion, and disorder. The same author further reasoneth, that the policie or regiment of the Lacedemonians (who other wayes amongest the Grecians were moste excellent) was not worthie to be reputed nor accompted amongest the nombre of common welthes that were well governed, because the Magistrates and Rulers of the same were too muche geven to please and obey their wyves. What wolde this writer (I pray you) have said to that realme or nation, where a woman sitteth crowned in Parliament amongest the middest of men? Oh fearefull and terrible are thy judgementes (O Lord) whiche thus hast abased man for his iniquitie! I am assuredlie persuaded that if any of those men, which, illuminated onlie by the light of nature, did see and pronounce causes sufficient why women oght not to beare rule nor authoritie, shuld this day live and see a woman sitting in judgement, or riding frome Parliament in the middest of men, having the royall crowne

2. Politicorum Aristotelis.

Reade Isaie the thirde chaptre.

r head, the sworde and sceptre borne before her, in
at the administration of justice was in her power: I
redlie persuaded, I say, that suche a sight shulde so
e them, that they shulde judge the hole worlde to be
ned into Amazones, and that suche a metamorphosis
nge was made of all the men of that countrie, as poetes
was made of the companyons of Ulisses, or at least,
eit the outwarde form of men remained, yet shuld they
at their hartes were changed frome the wisdome, un-
ing, and courage of men, to the foolishe fondnes and
e of women. Yea, they further shuld pronounce, that
omen reigne or be in authoritie, that there must nedes
e preferred to vertue, ambition and pride to temper-
d modestie; and finallie, that avarice, the mother of
efe, must nedes devour equitie and justice. But lest
shall seme to be of this opinion alone, let us heare
ers have seen and decreed in this mater. In the Rules
we thus it is written: "Women are removed frome all
l publike office, so that they nether may be Judges,
ay they occupie the place of the Magistrate; nether
they be speakers for others." The same is repeted in
l and in the Sextenth Bookes of the Digestes, where
ersones are forbidden, *Ne pro aliis postulent*, that is,
y be no speakers nor advocates for others. And
e rest are women forbidden, and this cause is added,
do not against shamefastnes intermedle them selves
causes of others; nether yet that women presume to
ffices due to men. The Lawe in the same place doth
eclare, that a naturall shamfastnes oght to be in
nd, whiche most certeinlie she loseth whensoever she
on her the office and estate of man. As in Calphur-
videntlie declared, who having licence to speake before
e, at length became so impudent and importune, that
bling she troubled the hole Assemblie; and so gave
that this lawe was established.

Amazones were monstruouse women, that coulde not abide the regiment of men, and therfore killed their husbandis. Reade Justine.

Arist. 2 Politic.

Lib. 50, de Regulis Juris.

What women may not be.

3, 16, Lib. Digestorum.

Ad Senatusconsul. Vellelanum.

Lib. 3, De Postulatione, Tit. 1.

Calphurnia.

De Statu hominum, Titul. 8.

Frome Women power is taken away by the Civile lawe over their own children.

Dig. Lib. 24, de Donatione inter Virum et Fœminam.

Women be covetous, therfore unmete governors.
Lib. 1, Digest. de Legib. et Senatusc.on, Tit 3.

Politic. 2.

England and Scotland beware.

Great imperfections of women.

Romilda, the wife of Gisulphus, betrayed to Cacanus the dukedome of Friaul in Italie.

Jane, Quene of Naples, hanged her husband.

Athalia, 4 Reg. 11. Hirene. Anton Sabell.

If the lesse thinges be denied to Women, the greater can not be granted.

In the First Boke of the Digestes, it is pronounced condition of the woman in many cases is worse the man. As in jurisdiction (saith the Lawe), in receiving and tuition, in adoption, in publike accusation, in in all popular action, and in motherlie power, which not upon her owne sonnes. The Lawe further will no that the woman geve any thing to her husband, be is against the nature of her kinde, being the inferio bre, to presume to geve any thing to her head. T doth more over pronounce womankinde to be most av (which is a vice intolerable in those that shulde rule ter justice). And Aristotle, as before is touched, dot affirme, that whersoever women beare dominion, th nedes the people be disordred, livinge and aboundi intemperancie, geven to pride, excesse, and vanitie; a lie in the end, that they must nedes come to confu ruine.

Wold to God the examples were not so manifest to ther declaration of the imperfections of women, of their weaknes and inordinat appetites! I might adduce proving some women to have died for sodein joy; unpacience to have murthered them selves, some to hav with such inordinat lust, that for the quenching of t they have betrayed to strangiers their countrie and c some to have bene so desirous of dominion, that for th ing of the same, they have murthered the children owne sonnes, yea, and some have killed with cruel owne husbandes and children. But to me it is suffic cause this parte of nature is not my moste sure found have proved, that men illuminated onlie by the light o have seen and have determined, that it is a thing most nant to nature, that women rule and governe over m those that will not permit a woman to have power owne sonnes, will not permit her (I am assured) to h over a realme; and those that will not suffer her to s

of those that be accused, nether that will admit her
ion intended against man, will not approve her that she
in judgement crowned with the royal crowne, usurping
tie in the middest of men.

now to the second part of Nature, in the whiche I in-
he reveled will and perfect ordinance of God; and
this parte of nature, I say, that it doth manifestlie
e that any Woman shal reigne or beare dominion
an. For God, first by the order of his creation, and
y the curse and malediction pronounced against the
, by the reason of her rebellion, hath pronounced the
ie. First, I say, that woman in her greatest perfec-
s made to serve and obey man, not to rule and com-
him. As Saint Paule doth reason in these wordes:
is not of the woman, but the woman of the man.
an was not created for the cause of the woman, but
nan for the cause of man; and therfore oght the wo-
have a power upon her head," (that is, a coverture in
f subjection). Of whiche words it is plaine that the
e meaneth, that woman in her greatest perfection, shuld
nowen that man was Lord above her; and therfore that
lde never have pretended any kind of superioritie above
more then do the Angels above God the Creator, or
Christ Jesus their head. So I say, that in her greatest
ion, woman was created to be subject to man. But after
and rebellion committed against God, there was put
er a newe necessitie, and she was made subject to man
rrevocable sentence of God, pronounced in these wordes:
greatlie multiplie thy sorowe and thy conception: With
shalt thou beare thy children, and thy will shall be sub-
thy man: and he shal beare dominion over thee." Here-
y such as altogither be not blinded plainlie see, that
his sentence hath dejected all women frome empire
minion above man. For two punishmentes are laid
er, to witte, a dolor, anguishe, and payn, as oft as ever

Woman in her greatest perfection was made to serve man.

1 Cor. 11.

A good comparison.

A newe necessity of Woman's subjection.

Woman, by the sentence of God, subject to man. Gene. 3.

she shal be mother; and a subjection of her self
and will, to her husband, and to his will. Fr
parte of this malediction can nether arte, nobili
lawe made by man, deliver womankinde; but
teineth to that honour to be mother, proveth in
effect and strength of Goddes word. But (alas
God, ambitioun, and tyrannie, have studied t
destroy the second parte of Goddes punishment
are lifted up to be heades over realmes, and to
at their pleasure and appetites. But horrible is
which is prepared for the one and for the othe
moters, and for the persones promoted,[1] excep
repent. For they shall be dejected from the
sonnes of God to the sclaverie of the Devill, a
mente that is prepared for all suche as do exal
against God. Against God can nothing be
then that a woman shall be exalted to reigne a
the contrarie sentence hath He pronounced in
"Thy will shall be subject to thy husband, and
dominion over thee." As God shuld say, 'Fora
hast abused thy former condition, and becaus
hath broght thy selfe and mankind into the bon
I therefore will bring thee in bondage to man.
fore thy obedience shuld have bene voluntarie, n
by constreint and by necessitie; and that beca
deceived thy man, thou shalt therefore be no lon
over thine own appetites, over thine owne will o
in thee there is nether reason nor discretion wh
moderate thy affections, and therfore they shall
the desire of thy man. He shall be Lord and
onlie over thy bodie, but even over thy appet
This sentence, I say, did God pronounce against
daughters, as the rest of the Scriptures doth
nesse. So that no woman can ever presume to

The punishement of Women unjustlie promoted, and of their Promoters.

Gene. 3.

[1] See note *supra*, p. 369.

ut the same she must nedes do in despite of God, and empt of his punishment and malediction. Let all Women take hede.

not ignorant, that the most part of men do understand lediction of the subjection of the wife to her husband, the dominion which he beareth above her; but the Ghost geveth to us an other interpretation of this place, from all women all kinde of superioritie, authoritie, and over man, speaking as foloweth by the mouth of Saint "I suffer not a woman to teache, nether yet to usurpe tie above man." Here he nameth women in generall, ng none; affirming that she may usurpe authoritie above . And that he speaketh more plainlie in an other place e wordes: "Let women kepe silence in the Congrega- r it is not permitted to them to speake, but to be sub- the lawe sayeth." These two testimonies of the Holy be sufficient to prove what soever we have affirmed be- d to represse the inordinate pride of women, as also to the foolishnes of those that have studied to exalt in authoritie above men, against God and against his e pronounced. But that the same two places of the e may the better be understand, it is to be noted, that in er, which is writen in the First Epistle to the Corinthes, chapitre, before the Apostle had permitted that all per- huld prophecie one after an other, addinge this reason, all may learne and all may receive consolation;" and t any might have judged, that amongest a rude multi- nd the pluralitie of speakers, manie thinges litle to pur- ight have bene affirmed, or elles that some confusion have risen, he addeth, "The spirites of the prophetes are to the prophetes;" as he shuld say, God shall alwayes p some to whome the veritie shalbe reveled, and unto e shal geve place, albeit they sit in the lowest seates. us the Apostle wold have prophesying an exercise to be the hole Churche, that everie one shuld communicate e Congregation what God had reveled to them, provid-

Answer to an objection.

1 Tim. 2.

1 Cor. 14.

Frome a generall priviledge is Woman secluded.

inge that it were orderlie done. But frome this ge
viledge he secludeth all women, saying, "Let women k
in the Congregation." And why, I pray you? Was
that the Apostle thoght no woman to have any k
No; he geveth an other reason, saying, "Let her be
the lawe saith." In which wordes is first to be note
Apostle calleth this former sentence pronounced agai

She that is subject to one may not rule many.

a lawe, that is, the immutable decree of God, who b
voice hath subjected her to one membre of the Co
that is to her husband. Wherupon the Holie Ghost c
that she may never rule nor bear empire above ma
that is made subject to one, may never be preferre
And that the Holie Ghoste doth manifestlie express
"I suffer not that woman usurpe authoritie above
sayth not, I will not that woman usurpe authoritie
husband, but he nameth man in generall, taking fr
power and authoritie to speake, to reason, to interp
teache; but principallie to rule or to judge in the a
men. So that woman by the lawe of God, and by
pretation of the Holy Ghost, is utterly forbidden to c
place of God in the offices afore said, which he hat
to man, whome he hath appointed and ordeined his
in earth, secluding frome that honor and dignitie all
this short argument shall evidentlie declare.

A strong argument.

The Apostle taketh power frome all women to spe
Assemblie: *Ergo*, he permitteth no woman to rule a

Note.

The former parte is evident, wherupon doth the co
necessitie folowe: For he that taketh from woman
parte of authoritie, dominion, or rule, will not permi
that whiche is greatest. But greater it is to rei
realmes and nations, to publish and to make law
commande men of all estates, and finallie, to appo
and ministers, then to speake in the Congregation.
judgement, sentence, or opinion proposed in the Co
may be judged by all, may be corrected by the le

reformed by the godlie. But woman being promoted in sovereine authoritie, her lawes must be obeyed, her opinion folowed, and her tyrannie mainteined, supposing that it be expreslie against God and the prophet[1] of the Common-welth, as to manifest experience doth this day witnesse. And therfore yet againe I repete, that whiche before I have affirmed, to witt, that a woman promoted to sit in the seate of God, that is, to teache, to judge, or to reigne above man, is a monstre in nature, contumelie to God, and a thing most repugnant to his will and ordinance. For he hath deprived them, as before is proved, of speakinge in the Congregation, and hath expreslie forbidden them to usurpe any kinde of authoritie above man. Howe then will he suffer them to reigne and have empire above realmes and nations? He will never, I say, approve it, because it is a thing most repugnant to his perfect ordinance, as after shalbe declared, and as the former Scriptures have plainlie geven testimonie. To the whiche to adde any thing were superfluous, were it not that the worlde is almost nowe comen to that blindnes, that what soever pleaseth not the princes and the multitude, the same is rejected as doctrine newelie forged, and is condemned for heresie. I have therfore thoght good to recite the mindes of some auncient writers in the same mater, to the end that suche as altogither be not blinded by the Devil, may consider and understand this my judgement to be no newe interpretation of Goddes Scriptures, but to be the uniforme consent of the most parte of godlie writers since the time of the Apostles.

Tertullian in his boke of Women's Apparell, after that he hath shewed many causes why gorgious apparell is abominable and odiouse in a woman, addeth these wordes, speaking as it were to every woman by name: "Dost thou not knowe (saith he) that thou art Heva? The sentence of God liveth and is effectuall against this kind; and in this worlde, of necessity it is, that the punishement also live. Thou art the

Tertullian, de Habitu Mulierum.

Let Women hearken what Tertullian, an olde Doctor, saith.

[1] Evidently, the profit.

porte and gate of the Devil. Thou art the first tr
of Goddes law. Thou diddest persuade and easel
him whome the Devil durst not assault. For thy n
is for thy death) it behoved the Sone of God to
death, and doth it yet abide in thy mind to decke t
thy skin coates?"

By these and many other grave sentences and
terrogations, did this godlie writer labour to bri
woman in contemplation of herselfe, to the end th
one depelie weying what sentence God had p
against the hole race and doughters of Heva, might
learne daily to humble and subject them selves in the
of God, but also that they shulde avoide and abh
soever thing might exalte them or puffe them up in
that might be occasion that they shuld forget the
malediction of God. And what, I pray you, is mo
cause woman to forget her owne condition, then if sh
up in authoritie above man? It is a thing verie di
man (be he never so constant) promoted to honors,
tickled some what with pride; (for the winde of va
doth easelie carie up the drie dust of the earth). B
woman, it is no more possible that she being set aloft
ritie above man shall resist the motions of pride,
able to the weake reed, or to the turning wethercoc
bowe or turne at the vehemencie of the unconstant w
therefore the same writer expreslie forbiddeth all
intermedle with the office of man. For thus he writ
book *de Virginibus Velandis:* "It is not permitted
man to speake in the Congregation, nether to teach
to baptise, nether to vendicate to her selfe any office
The same he speaketh yet more plainly in the Pref
Sixte Boke writen against Marcion, where he, recou
tein monstruous thinges whiche were to be sene a
called Euxinum, amongest the rest, he reciteth this a
monstre in nature, "that women in those partes were

NOTE.

Tertull. lib 8, de Virginibus Velandis.

In proemio 6 lib. contra Marcionem.

nor embased by consideration of their own sex and kind, but that all shame laide a parte, they made expenses upon weapons, and learned the feates of warre, havinge more pleasure to fight then to mary and be subject to man." Thus farre of Tertullian, whose wordes be so plain, that they nede no explanation. For he that taketh from her all office apperteining to man, will not suffre her to reigne above man; and he that judgeth it a monstre in nature that a woman shall exercise weapons, must judge it to be a monstre of monstres that a woman shalbe exalted above a hole realme and nation. Of the same minde is Origen and divers others, yea, even till the dayes of Augustine; whose sentences I omit to avoide prolixitie.

Augustine, in his Twentie-second Boke writen against Faustus, proveth that a woman ought to serve her husband as unto God, affirming, that in no thing hath woman equal power with man, saving that nether of both have power over their owne bodies. By whiche he wold plainlie conclude, that woman ought never to pretend nor thirst for that power and authoritie which is due to man. For so he doth explane him selfe in an other place, affirming that woman ought to be repressed and brideled betimes, if she aspire to any dominion; alledging that dangerous and perillous it is to suffre her to procede, althogh it be in temporall and corporall thinges. And therto he addeth these wordes: "God seeth not for a time, nether is there any newe thinge in his sight and knowledge;" meaninge therby, that what God hath sene in one woman (as concerning dominion and bearing of authoritie) the same he seeth in all; and what he hath forbidden to one, the same he also forbiddeth to all. And this most evidentlie yet in an other place he writeth, moving this question, Howe can woman be the image of God, seing (saith he) she is subject to man, and hath none authoritie, nether to teache, nether to be witnesse, nether to judge, muche lesse to rule or beare empire? These be the verie wordes of Augustine, of which it is evident that this godlie writer doth not onelie agree withe Tertullian before recited,

August. lib. 22, contra Faustum, c. 81.

De Trinitat. lib. 12, cap. 7.

In quæst. Veteris Testamenti, quæst. 43.

NOTE.

but also with the former sentence of the Lawe,
frome woman not onelie all authoritie amongest
everie office apperteining to man. To the que
can be the image of God, he answereth as folow
(saith he), compared to other creatures, is the
for she beareth dominion over them; but comp
she may not be called the image of God, for s
rule and lordship over man, but oght to obey h
howe that woman oght to obey man, he spea
clearlie in these words, "The woman shalbe su
unto Christ. For woman (saith he) hath n
frome the bodie and from the fleshe, that so sh
to man, as the fleshe is unto the Spirite, be
flesh in the weaknes and mortalitie of this
striveth against the Spirit, and therfore wold
Ghost geve example of subjection to the wom
thing," &c. This sentence of Augustine oght
all women, for in it he plainlie affirmeth, that
be subject to man, that she never oght mor
eminence him then that she ogh to desire abo

Lib de Continentia, cap. 4.

With Augustine agreeth in every point S. An
writeth in his Hexaemeron: "Adam was dec
and not Heva by Adam, and therfore just it
receive and acknowledge him for governor wh
sinne, lest that again she slide and fall by wo
And writing upon the Epistle to the Ephesians
women be subject to their owne husbandes as
for the man is heade to the woman, and Chris
Congregation, and he is the Saviour of the bod
gregation is subject to Christ, even so oght
their husbandes in all thinges." He procedet
"Women are commanded to be subject to m
nature, because that man is the author or beg
man: for as Christ is the head of the Churche,
woman. From Christ the Church toke begi

Ambros. in Hexaemeron, lib. 5, c. 7.

Cap. 5.

fore it is subject unto him; even so did woman take beginning from man that she shuld be subject." Thus we heare the agreing of these two writers to be such, that a man might judge the one to have stolen the wordes and sentences from the other. And yet plain it is, that duringe the time of their writinge, the one was farre distant frome the other. But the Holie Ghost, who is the spirite of concorde and unitie, did so illuminate their hartes, and directe their tonges and pennes, that as they did conceive and understand one truth, so did they pronounce and utter the same, leaving a testimonie of their knowledge and concorde to us their posteritie.

If any thinke that all these former sentences be spoken onlie of the subjection of the maryed woman to her husband, as before I have proved the contrarie by the plain wordes and reasoning of S. Paule, so shal I shortlie do the same by other testimonies of the forsaid writers. The same Ambrose, writing upon the second chapitre of the First Epistle to Timothie, after he hath spoken much of the simple arrayment of women, he addeth these wordes: "Woman oght not onlie to have simple arrayment, but all authoritie is to be denied unto her: for she must be in subjection to man (of whome she hath taken her originall) aswell in habit as in service." And after a fewe wordes, he saith, "Because that death did entre in to the world by her, there is no boldenes that oght to be permitted unto her, but she oght to be in humilitie." Hereof it is plain, that frome all woman,[1] be she maried or unmaried, is all authoritie taken to execute any office that apperteineth to man; yea, plain it is, that all woman is commanded to serve, to be in humilitie and subjection. Whiche thing yet speaketh the same writer more plainlie in these wordes: "It is not permitted to women to speake, but to be in silence, as the Lawe saith. What saith the Lawe? 'Unto thy husband shall thy conversion be, and he shall beare dominion over thee.' This is a speciall lawe (saith Ambrose), whose sentence lest it shulde be violated, infirmed,

Ambros. super 2 c. 1 Epist. ad Timoth.

Ambros. in 1 Epist. ad Cor. cap. 14.

Genes. 3.

[1] "All woman," every woman.

or made weake, women are commanded to be i
he includeth all women; and yet he procedet
same place, saying, "It is shame for them to p
of the lawe, in the house of the Lord, who l
them to be subject to their men." But moste
he, writing upon the 16. chapitre of the Epist
the Romaines, upon these wordes: "Salute R
ther." "For this cause (saith Ambrose) did t
Rufus before his mother, for the election of th
of the grace of God, in the whiche a woman
For he was chosen and promoted by the Lor
over his business, that is, over the Churche, to
could not his mother be appointed, albeit she
holie that the Apostle called her his mother.
plaine, that the administration of the grace of
all woman. By the administration of Goddes
stand not only the preaching of the Worde an
of the Sacramentes, by the whiche the grace o
ed and ordinarilie distributed unto man, but a
tration of Civile Justice, by the whiche vertue
teined, and vices punished. The execution w
denied to woman, then is the preaching of
administration of the Sacramentes, as herafter
lie appeare.

Whose house, I pray you, oght the Parliament house to be, Goddes or the Devilles?

Rufus is by S. Paul saluted before his mother.

Chrysostome, amongest the Grecian writers
dit, speaking in rebuke of men, who in his day
inferior to some women in witt and in godli
this cause was woman put under thy power
man in generall), and thou wast pronounced
that she shulde obey thee, and that the head s
the feet. But often it is, that we see the c
who in his ordre oght to be the head, doth no
of the feet (that is, doth not rule the feet), an
is in place of the foote is constitute to be
speaketh these wordes, as it were in admiratio

Chrysost. Homil. 17. in Genes.

NOTE.

becomen so brutish, that he did not consider it to be a thing most monstruous, that woman shulde be preferred to man in any thing, whom God had subjected to man in all thinges. He procedeth, saying, "Neverthelesse, it is the parte of the man, with diligent care, to repel the woman that geveth him wicked counsel; and woman, whiche gave that pestilent counsel to man, oght at all times to have the punishment whiche was geven to Heva, sounding in her eares." And in an other place, he induceth[1] God speaking to the woman in this sorte: "Because thou left him, of whose nature thou wast participant, and for whome thou wast formed, and hast had pleasure to have familiaritie with that wicked beast, and wold take his counsel; therfore I subject thee to man, and I appointe and affirme him to be thy Lord, that thou maist acknowledge his dominion, and because thou couldest not beare rule, learne well to be ruled." Why they shulde not beare rule, he declareth in other places, saying, "Womankinde is imprudent and soft (or flexible); imprudent, because she can not consider withe wisdome and reason the thinges which she heareth and seeth; and softe she is, because she is easelie bowed." I know that Chrysostome bringeth in these wordes, to declare the cause why false prophetes do commonlie deceive women, because they are easelie persuaded to any opinion, especiallie if it be against God; and because they lacke prudence and right reason to judge the things that be spoken. But hereof may their nature be espied, and the vices of the same, whiche in no wise ought to be in those that are apointed to governe others: For they oght to be constant, stable, prudent, and doing everie thing with discretion and reason, whiche vertues women can not have in equalitie with men. For that he doth witnesse in an other place, saying, "Women have in themselves a tickling and studie of vaine glorie; and that they may have common with men: they are sodeinlie moved to anger; and that they have also common with some men. But vertues in which they excell,

Homil. 15. in Genes.

God graunt all Women's hartes to understand and follow this sentence!

In Mat. cap. 23. Homil. 44.

Woman can not have vertue in equalitie with Man.

Ad Ephe. cap. 4. Sermone 13.

NOTE.

[1] "He induceth," he bringeth in.

they have not common with man: and therfore hat
tle removed them from the office of teachinge, whi
dent proof that in vertue they farre differ frome ma
reasons of this writer be marked, for further he ye
after that he hath in many wordes lamented th
maners of men, who were so farre degenerate to
of woman, that some might have demanded, W
women teache amongest suche a sorte of men, wh
and godlines are becomen inferior unto women?
concludeth, "That notwithstanding that men be de
may not women usurpe any authoritie above them."
end he addeth these wordes, "These thinges do
to extolle them (that is women), but to the co
shame of our selves, and to admonish us to tak
dominion that is meete and convenient for us; not
power which is according to the excellencie of digni
which is accordinge to providence, and according
vertue; for then is the bodie in best proportion w
the best governor." O that both man and woman
sider the profound counsel and admonition of this
wolde not that man for appetit of any vaine glorie
pre-eminence above woman. For God hath not r
be heade for any suche cause, but having respecte t
nes and imperfection which alwayes letteth woman
He hath ordeined man to be superior; and that m
sostome, saying, "Then is the bodie in best propor
hath the best governor: But Woman can never
governor, by reason that she, being spoiled of the s
ment, can never attein to that degree to be called
good governor; because in the nature of all wo
suche vices as in good governors are not tolerab
the same writer expresseth in these wordes, "
(saith he) is rashe and fool-hardie, and their coveto
the goulf of hell, that is, insaciable." And therfor
place, he will that Woman shall have no thing to

The body lackinge the head can not be well governed, nether can Commonweith lackinge Man.

In ca. 22. Joh. Homil. 37.

In Joh. Homil. 41.

ment, in common affaires, or in the regiment of the Common welth; because she is impacient of troubles; but that she shall live in tranquillitie and quietnes. And if she have occasion to go frome the house, that yet she shal have no matter of trouble, nether to folowe her, nether to be offered unto her, as commonlie there must be to such as beare authoritie.

And with Chrysostome fullie agreeth Basilius Magnus, in a sermon which he maketh upon some places of Scripture, wherin he reproveth divers vices; and amongest the rest, he affirmeth woman to be a tendre creature, flexible, soft, and pitifull; whiche nature God hath geven unto her, that she may be apt to norishe children. The which facilitie of the woman did Satan abuse, and therby broght her frome the obedience of God. And, therfore, in divers other places doth he conclude that she is not apt to beare rule, and that she is forbidden to teache. Basilius Mag. in aliquot Scripturæ locos.

Innumerable mo testimonies of all sortes of writers may be adduced for the same purpose, but withe these I stand content; judgeing it sufficient, to stoppe the mouthe of such as accuse and condemne all doctrine as hereticall whiche displeaseth them in any point, that I have proved by the determinations and lawes of men illuminated onelie by the light of nature, by the ordre of Goddes creation, by the curse and malediction pronounced against woman by the mouth of Saint Paule, who is the interpreter of Goddes sentence and lawe, and finallie, by the mindes of those writers who, in the Church of God, have bene alwayes holden in greatest reverence, That it is a thing most repugnant to nature, to Goddes will and apointed ordinance, (yea, that it can not be without contumelie committed against God,) that a Woman shuld be promoted to dominion or empire, to reigne over man, be it in realme, nation, province, or citie. Now resteth it in fewe wordes to be shewed, that the same empire of Women is the subversion of good ordre, equitie, and justice.

Augustine defineth Ordre to be that thing by the whiche God hath apointed and ordeined all thinges. Note well, De Ordine, lib. 1. c. 10.

reader, that Augustine will admit no ordr
apointment is absent and lacketh. And in a
saith, "that ordre is a disposition, geving th
places to thinges that be unequall," which he
parium et disparium, that is, of thinges equal or
unequall or unlike. Of whiche two places,
disputation, which is conteined in his second
it is evident, that whatsoever is done either w
ance of Goddes will, or elles against his will m
in his Word, is done against ordre. But such
and regiment of all Woman (as evidentlie bef
and therfore, I say, it is a thing plainlie rep
ordre, yea, it is the subversion of the same.

De Civit. Dei, lib. 19, cap. 13.

What soever is done withowt the appointment of Goddes will, is done withowt ordre.

If any list to reject the definition of August
propre to this purpose, or elles as insufficien
intent, let the same man understand, that in s
infirmed mine argument nothinge. For as I
the determinations of men, so think I my
albeit their authoritie be denied unto me; pr
by his will reveled, and manifest Worde, stan
dent on my side.

That God hath subjected Womankinde to m
of his creation, and by the curse that he
against her, is before declared. Besides th
before our eyes two other Mirrors and gla
he will that we shulde behold the ordre wh
pointed and established in nature: The one
bodie of man; the other is the politik or civ
common welth, in which God by his own Wor
an ordre. In the natural body of man, God
ordre that the head shall occupie the upper
the head hath he joyned with the bodie, that
and motion flowe to the rest of the membres
placed the eye to see, the eare to hear, and the
which offices are apointed to none other memb

Two Mirrors in which we may beholde the ordre of nature.

The rest of the membres have every one their own place and office apointed, but none may have nether the place nor office of the heade. For who wolde not judge that bodie to be a monstre, where there was no head eminent above the rest, but that the eyes were in the handes, the tonge and mouth beneth in the bellie, and the eares in the feet? Men, I say, shulde not onlie pronounce this bodie to be a monstre, but assuredlie they might conclude that such a bodie coulde not long indure. And no lesse monstruous is the bodie of that Common welth where a Woman beareth empire; for either doth it lack a laufull heade (as in very dede it doth), or els there is an idol exalted in the place of the true head. An idol I call that which hath the forme and appearance, but lacketh the vertue and strength which the name and proportion do resemble and promise. As images have face, nose, eyes, mouth, handes, and feet painted, but the use of the same can not the craft and art of man geve them, as the Holy Ghost by the mouth of David teacheth us, saying, "They have eyes, but they see not: mouth, but they speake not: nose, but they smell not: handes and feet, but they nether touche nor have power to go." And suche, I say, is everie realme and nation where a Woman beareth dominion: for in despite of God (he of his just judgement so geving them over in to a reprobat minde) may a realme, I confesse, exalt up a woman to that monstriferous honor, to be estemed as head. But impossible it is to man and angel to geve unto her the properties and perfect offices of a laufull heade; for the same God that hath denied power to the hand to speake, to the belly to heare, and to the feet to see, hath denied to woman power to commande man, and hath taken away wisdome to consider, and providence to forsee, the thinges that be profitable to the common welth; yea, finallie, he hath denied to her in any case to be head to man, but plainly hath pronounced that "Man is head to woman, even as Christ is heade to all man."[1]

Common welthes under the rule of Women lacke a laufull heade.

Idol.

Psal. 115.

The Empire of a Woman is an Idol.

1 Cor. 11.

If men in a blinde rage shulde assemble together, and apointe

[1] "All man," every man.

themselves an other heade then Jesus Christ, (as the
have done their Romishe Antichrist,) shuld Christ the
his owne dignitie, or shulde God geve to that counte
power to geve life to the bodie, to see what soever mig
mage or hurte it, to speake in defense, and to heare th
of everie subject? It is certein that he wold not.
honor he hath apointed before all times to his onelie So
Note. the same will he geve to no creature besides. No mo
admit nor accept woman to be the lauful head over man
man, devil, and angel will conjure in their favor. I
he hath subjected her to one (as before is saide), he
permit her to reigne over manie. Seing he hath co
her to heare and obey one, he will not suffre that sh
and with usurped authoritie command realmes and
1 Cor. 11. Chrysostome explaning these wordes of the Apostle, "T
of woman is man," compareth God in his universall reg
Marke the similitude of Chrysostome. a king sitting in his royall majestie, to whome all his
commanded to geve homage and obedience, appear
him, bearing everie one suche a badge and cognisanc
nitie and honor as he hath geven to them; which if the
and contemne, then do they dishonor their king. "
(saith he) oght man and woman to appeare before God
the ensignes of the condition whiche they have receive
Man hath received a certein glorie and dignitie a
woman; and therfore oght he to appeare before his
jestie bearing the signe of his honour, havinge no
upon his heade, to witnesse that in earth man hath
Note. Beware Chrysostome what thou saist! thou shalt be
traytor if Englishe men heare thee, for they must
Sovereine Lady and Maistresse; and Scotland hath
also the enchantment and venom of Circes, let it be so
owne shame and confusion. He procedeth in these
"But woman oght to be covered, to witnesse that in
Howe Women be covered in England and Scotland. had a head, that is man." Trewe it is, Chrysostome,
covered in both the said realmes, but it is not with the

subjection, but it is with the signe of superioritie, to witte, with the royal crowne. To that he answereth in these wordes: "What if man neglect his honor? he is no lesse to be mocked (saith Chrysostome) then if a king shulde depose himself of his diademe or crowne and royal estat, and cloth him self in the habit of a sclave." What, I pray you, shulde this godlie Father have saide, if he had sene all the men of a realme or nation fall downe before a woman? If he had sene the crowne, sceptre, and sworde, whiche are ensignes of the royall dignitie, geven to her, and a woman cursed of God, and made subjecte to man, placed in the throne of justice to sit as Goddes lieutenant? What, I say, in this behalfe, shuld any hart unfeinedlie fearing God have judged of suche men? I am assured that not onlie shulde they have bene judged foolishe, but also enraged and sclaves to Satan, manifestlie fighting against God and his apointed ordre.

The more that I consider the subversion of Goddes ordre, which he hath placed generallie in all livinge thinges, the more I do wondre at the blindnes of man, who doth not consider him self in this case so degenerate, that the brute beastes are to be preferred unto him in this behalfe: For nature hath in all beastes printed a certein marke of dominion in the male, and a certeine subjection in the female, whiche they kepe inviolate. For no man ever sawe the lion make obedience, and stoupe before the lionesse; nether yet can it be proved that the hinde taketh the conducting of the heard amongest the hartes. And yet (alas!) man, who by the mouth of God hath dominion apointed to him over woman, doth not onlie to his own shame stoupe under the obedience of women, but also, in despit of God and of his apointed ordre, rejoyseth and mainteineth that monstruous authoritie as a thing lauful and just. The insolent joy, the bonefiers, and banketing, which were in London, and els where in England, when that cursed Jesabell was proclaimed Qwene, did witnesse to my hart that men were becomen more then enraged; for els howe coulde

Brute beastes to be preferred.

Insolent joy bringeth sodein sorowe.

they so have rejoysed at their owne confusion an
struction? For what man was there of so bas
(supposing that he had any light of God), who di
erecting of that monstre to be the overthrowe of
and the assured destruction of England, and of
liberties therof? And yet, neverthelesse, all men s
as if God had delivered them frome all calamitie.

But just and rightuouse, terrible and fearfull, a
mentes, O Lorde! For as some times thou didde
men for unthankfulnes, that man ashamed not t
lanie with man, and that because, that knowing
God, they glorified thee not as God, even so hast
justlie nowe punished the proude rebellion and h
titude of the Realmes of England and Scotland
thou diddest offre thy selfe moste mercifullie to
offering the meanes by the whiche they might have
together for ever in godly concorde, then was th
and cruel, and the other unconstant and fikle of p
yet (alas!) did miserable England further rebell
For albeit thou diddest not cease to heape benefit
fit during the reigne of an innocent and tendre
man did acknowledge thy potent hand and merve
The stoute courage of capitaines, the witte and po
selers, the learning of bishoppes, did robbe thee
and honor. For what then was heard as concern
but, The Kinges procedinges, the Kinges procedin
obeyed? It is enacted by Parliament, therfore
to speake in the contrarie. But this was not th
miserable tragedie. For thou diddest yet procede
favors, sending thy prophetes and messagers to c
mation of life in all estates. For even frome th
the lowest, all were declined frome thee, (yea, eve
shuld have bene the lanterns to others); some, I
did qwake and tremble, and frome the botome of
thirsted amendment, and for the same purpose d

Rom. 1.

What robbed God of his honor in England in the time of the Gospell.

Goddes benefites shewed to England.

call for discipline. But then brust furth the venome which before lurked; then might they not conteine their despiteful voices, but with open mouthes did crie, We will not have suche a one to reigne over us. Then, I say, was everie man so stoute that he wolde not be broght in bondage; no, not to thee, O Lord, but with disdein did the multitude cast frome them the amiable yoke of Christ Jesus. No man wolde suffre his sinne to be rebuked, no man wolde have his life called to triall. And thus did they refuse thee, O Lorde, and thy Sonne Christ Jesus to be their pastor, protector, and prince. And therfore hast thou geven them over in to a reprobat minde. Thou hast taken from them the spirit of boldnes, of wisdome, and of rightuous judgement. They see their owne destruction, and yet they have no grace to avoide it. Yea, they are becomen so blinde, that, knowing the pit, they headlong cast them selves in to the same, as the nobilitie of England do this day, fighting in the defense of their mortall ennemie the Spaniard. Finallie, they are so destitute of understanding and judgement, that althogh they knowe that there is a libertie and fredome, the whiche their predecessors have injoyed, yet are they compelled to bowe their neckes under the yoke of Satan, and of his proude ministres, pestilent Papistes and proude Spaniardes. And yet can they not consider, that where a Woman reigneth and Papistes beare authoritie, that there must nedes Satan be president of the counsel. Thus hast thou, O Lorde, in thy hote displeasure, revenged the contempt of thy graces offred. But, O Lord, if thou shalt reteine wrath to the end, what fleshe is able to susteine? We have sinned, O Lord, and are not worthy to be releved. But worthy art thou, O Lord, to be a true God, and worthy is thy Sonne Christ Jesus to have his Evangel and glorie advanced, whiche both are troden under foot in this cruell murther and persecution, whiche the builders of Babylon commit in their furie, have raised against thy children for the establishing of their kingdome. Let the sobbes therfore of thy prisoners, O Lord, passe up to thine eares; con-

Discipline refused in England.

The Nobilitie and the hole Realme of England, caste them selves willingly into the pit.

Confession.

sider their affliction; and let the eyes of thy
downe upon the blood of such as die for testimon
nal veritie; and let not thine ennemies mocke t
for ever. To thee, O Lorde, I turne my wretche
hart; to thee alone I direct my complaint and
that Ile to thy saintes there is left no comforte.

Albeit I have thus (talkinge with my God in t
my harte) some what digressed, yet have I not utt
my former proposition, to witt, That it is a thing
the ordre of Nature that any Woman be exalte
men. For God hath denied unto her the office of
in the intreating of this parte, I remembre tha
the Nobilitie both of England and Scotland inf
beastes, for that they do to women which no n
the common sorte of beastes can be proved to
male, that is, they reverence them, and qwake
sence; they obey their commandementes, and tha
Wherfore I judge them not onelie subjectes t
sclaves of Satan, and servantes of iniquitie. If a
these my wordes sharpe or vehement, let him con
offense is more haynous then can be expressed by
where all thinges be expressedly concluded agai
and honor of God, and where the blood of the sa
commanded to be shed, whome shall we judge
Note. Devil, to be president of that counsel? Plain it
ruleth not by his love, mercie, nor grace in the a
ungodlie: Then it resteth that the Devil, the
worlde, doth reigne over suche tyrannes. Whos
pray you, shal then be judged such as obey and
tyrannie? God, for his greate mercies sake, illum
of men, that they may preceive in to what mise
they be broght by the monstriferous empire of W

Note. The Seconde glasse whiche God hath set befo
man, wherin he may beholde the ordre whiche
wisdome, concerning authoritie and dominion, is

welth, to the whiche it pleaseth his Majestie to apoint and geve lawes, statutes, rites, and ceremonies; not onelie concerning religion, but also touching their policie and regiment of the same. And against that ordre it doth manifestly repugne, that any Woman shall occupie the throne of God, that is, the royall seate, which he by his Worde hath apointed to man; as in geving the lawe to Israel, concerning the election of a king, is evident. For thus it is writen, "If thou shalt say, I will apoint a king above me, as the rest of the nations whiche are about me; thou shalt make thee a kinge, whome the Lorde thy God shall chose: one frome amongest the middest of thy bretheren thou shalt apointe kinge above thee: thou maist not make a strangier, that is not thy brother." Here expressedly is a man apointed to be chosen king, and a man native amongest themselves; by whiche precept is all woman and all strangier secluded.

Deut. 17.

What may be objected for the parte or election of a strangier shalbe, God willinge, answered in THE BLAST OF THE SECOND TRUMPET. For this present, I say, that the erecting of a Woman to that honor is not onely to invert the ordre which God hath established, but also it is to defile, pollute, and prophane (so farre as in man lieth) the throne and seat of God, whiche he hath sanctified and apointed for man onely, in the course of this wretched life, to occupie and possesse as his ministre and lieutenant, secluding from the same all woman, as before is expressed. If any thinke that the fore written lawe did binde the Jewes onelie, let the same man consider that the election of a kinge and apointing of judges did nether apperteine to the Ceremoniall lawe, nether yet was it mere Judiciall, but that it did flowe frome the Morall lawe, as an ordinance, having respect to the conservation of both the Tables. For the office of the Magistrate oght to have the first and chief respect to the glorie of God, commanded and conteined in the former Table, as is evident by that whiche was injoyned to Josue by God, what time he was accepted and ad-

God hath apointed man his ministre and lieutenant.

Answer to an Objection.

The Election of a King floweth frome the Moral Lawe.

mitted ruler and governer over his people.

Josue 1.

"Thou shalt divide the inheritance to this
I have sworne to their fathers to geve unto t
be valiant and strong, that thou maist kep
to that hole lawe, whiche my servant Mose
thee: thou shalt not decline frome it, ne
hande, nether to the left hand, that thou n
in all thinges that thou takest in hand. Le
this lawe departe from thy mouth; but med
night, that thou maist kepe and do accord

Rulers shuld take hede to this.

that is writen in it: for then shall thy w
then shalt thou do prudently," &c. And
geveth God by the mouth of Moses to kin

Deut. 17.

elected, in these wordes: "When he shal
or seate of his kingdome, he shall write to
this lawe in a boke: and that shalbe with
reade in it all the dayes of his life: that he m
the Lorde his God, to kepe all the wordes of
these statutes, that he may do them," &c. (
it is evident, that principallie it apperteine
to the Chief Magistrate, to knowe the will
structed in his Lawe and Statutes, and to
with his hole hart and studie, which be the c
First Table. No man denieth, but that th
mitted to the Magistrate, to the end that h

What vices Magistrates oght to punishe.

vice and mainteine vertue. To punishe vice,
that whiche troubleth the tranquilitie and
common welth, by adulterie, theft, or murthe
also suche vices as openly impugne the glorie
trie, blasphemie, and manifest heresie, taug
mainteined, as the histories and notable a
Josaphat, and Josias[1] do plainlie teache us
care was not onlie to glorifie God in their ow
sation, but also they unfeinedlie did travel t

[1] According to our present version, Hezekiah, Jehosh

jects to the true worshipping and honoring of God; and did destroye all monuments of idolatrie, did punishe to death the teachers of it, and removed frome office and honors suche as were mainteiners of those abominations: Wherbie, I suppose, that it be evident, that the office of the King, or Supreme Magistrate, hath respect to the Lawe Morall, and to the conservation of both the Tables.

Nowe, if the Lawe Morall be the constant and unchangeable will of God, to the which the Gentil is no lesse bounde then was the Jewe; and if God will, that amongest the Gentiles the ministres and executors of his lawe be now apointed, as sometimes they were apointed amongest the Jewes; further, if the execution of justice be no lesse requisite in the policie of the Gentiles, then ever it was amongest the Jewes; what man can be so foolishe to suppose or beleve, that God will nowe admit those persons to sit in judgement, or to reigne over men in the common welth of the Gentiles, whom he by his expressed word and ordinance did before debarre and seclude from the same? And that Women were secluded from the royall seate, the which oght to be the sanctuarie to all poore afflicted, and therfore is justlie called the seat of God, (besides the place before recited of the election of a King, and besides the places of the Newe Testament, whiche be moste evident,) the ordre and election which was kept in Juda and Israel doth manifestlie declare. For when the males of the kinglie stocke failed, as oft as it chaunced in Israel, and sometimes in Juda, it never entered in to the hartes of the people to chose and promote to honors any of the Kinges doughters, (had he never so many); but knowing Goddes vengeance to be poured furth upon the father by the away-taking of his sonnes, they had no further respect to his stocke, but elected suche one man or other as they judged most apt for that honor and authoritie. Of whiche premisses, I conclude (as before) that to promote a Woman heade over men is repugnant to Nature, and a thinge moste contrarious to that Ordre whiche God hath approved in

NOTE. The Gentil no lesse bounde to the Lawe Moral then the Jewe.

NOTE.

that common welth whiche he did institu
Worde.

But nowe to the last point, to wit, tha
Woman is a thing repugnant to Justice, a
of everie Common welth where it is recei
wherof, because the mater is more then evid
wordes. First, I say, if justice be a const
will to geve to everie person their own r
learned in all ages have defined it to be,)
will to geve, to any person that whiche is n
repugne to justice. But to reigne above ma
right to woman, because it is a thing denie
as is before declared. Therfore to promot
or dignitie can be no thing els but repugna
I shulde speake no more, this were sufficient
either they can improve the definition of just
can intreate God to revoke and call back
nounced against woman, they shalbe comp
conclusion. If any find faute with Justice
may well accuse others, but me he shall n
the shield, the weapon, and the warrant of
lie will defend this quarel, and he comma
"What soever repugneth to the will of Go
most sacred Worde, repugneth to Justice;
have authoritie over men, repugneth to t
pressed in his Worde: and therfore mine A
me to conclude, without feare, that all suche
eth to Justice." The first parte of the argu
nether Jewe or Gentile denie; for it is a
universallie confessed, but also so depelie p
of man, be his nature never so corrupted, t
or no, he is compelled at one time or other
confess that Justice is violated when thinge
the will of God, expressed by his Worde.
fession are no less the reprobat co-acted an

The First Argument, that the Authoritie of Women repugneth to Justice.

The Second Argument.

Nature doth confesse that repugnancie to Goddes Will is injustice.

be the chosen children of God, albeit to a divers end. The elect, with displeasure of their facte, confesse their offense, having accesse to grace and mercie, as did Adam, David, Peter, and all other penitent offenders. But the reprobat, notwithstanding they are compelled to acknowledge the will of God to be just, the which they have offended, yet are they never inwardlie displeased with their iniquitie, but rage, complain, and storme against God, whose vengeance they can not escape, as did Cain, Judas, Herode, Julian called Apostata, yea, Jesabel and Athalia. For Cain no doubte was convict in conscience that he had done against justice in murthering of his brother. Judas did openlie before the High Priest confesse that he had sinned in betraying innocent blood. Herode being stricken by the Angel, did mocke those his flaterers, saying unto them, "Beholde your God" (meaning of him selfe) "can not nowe preserve him self frome corruption and wormes." Julianus was compelled in the end to crie, "O, Galilean!" (so alwayes in contempt did he name our Saviour Jesus Christ) "thou hast nowe overcomen." And who doubteth but Jesabel and Athalia, before their miserable end, were convicted in their cankered consciences to acknowledge, that the murther which they had committed, and the empire whiche the one had six yeares usurped, were repugnant to justice? Even so shall they, I doubte not, whiche this daye do possesse and mainteine that monstriferous authoritie of Women, shortlie be compelled to acknowledge that their studies and devises have bene bent against God, and that all such authoritie as Women have usurped repugneth to justice: because, as I have saide, it repugneth to the will of God expressed in his sacred Worde. And if any man doubte herof, let him marke wel the wordes of the Apostle, saying, "I permit not a woman to teache, nether yet to usurpe authoritie above man." No man, I trust, will denie these wordes of the Apostle to be the will of God expressed in his Worde; and he saith openlie, "I permit not," &c., which is asmuch as "I will not," that a woman have authority, charge, or power over man;

Howe the Reprobat confesse Goddes Will to be just.

Genes. 4.

Mat. 27.

Women's authoritie bringeth furth monstres.

1 Tim. 2.

for so much importeth the Greke worde αὐθεντεῖν in
Nowe, let man and angell conspire against God; let
nounce their lawes, and say, We will suffre women
authoritie, who then can depose them? Yet shal
worde of the eternal God, spoken by the mouth o
man, thruste them everie one in to hell. Jesabel may
slepe quietlie in the bed of her fornication and hoor
Apoca. 2. may teache and deceive for a season; but nether sha
serve her selfe, nether yet her adulterous children, fr
affliction, and frome the sworde of Goddes vengean
shall shortlie apprehend suche workes of iniquitie.
nition I differre to the end.

Here might I bring in the oppression and injusti
committed against realmes and nations, whiche s
lived free, and now are broght in bondage of forein
the reason of this monstriferous authoritie and emp
men. But that I delay till better oportunitie. A
think it expedient to answer such objections as
worldlie men, yea, men ignorant of God, use to mak
tenance of this tyrannie (authoritie it is not wor
called) and most unjuste empire of Woman.

Judic. 4. Para. 3. The defenses of the adversaries.

First, They do object the examples of Debora, an
the prophetesse, of whom the one judged Israel, and
by all appearance, did teache and exhorte.

Num. 27.

Secondarily, They do object the lawe made by Mo
doughters of Zalphead.[1]

Thirdlie, The consent of the estates of such realm
approved the empire and regiment of Women.

And, last, The long custome which hath received th
of Women, their valiant actes and prosperitie, tog
some Papistical lawes which have confirmed the sam

Answer to the First Objection.

To the First I answer, That particular examples do
no common lawe. The causes were knowen to God
he toke the spirite of wisdome and force frome all m

[1] In our present version, Zelophehad: Coverdale has it, Zel

ages; and did so mightely assist women against nature, and against his ordinarie course, that the one he made a deliverer to his afflicted people Israel, and to the other he gave not onlie perseverance in the true religion when the most parte of men had declined frome the same, but also to her he gave the spirit of prophecie, to assure King Josias of the thinges which were to come. With these women, I say, did God worke potentlie and miraculouslie; yea, to them he gave moste singular grace and priviledge. But who hath commanded that a publike, yea, a tyrannicall and moste wicked lawe be established upon these examples? The men that object the same are not altogether ignorant that examples have no strength when the question is of lawe: As if I shuld aske, What mariage is laufull? And it shulde be answered, That laufull it is to man not onlie to have manie wives at ones, but also it is laufull to marie two sisters, and to enjoye them both living at ones, because that David, Jacob, and Salomon, servantes of God, did the same: I trust that no man wold justifie the vanitie of this reason. Or if the question were demanded, If a Christian, with good conscience, may defraude, steale, or deceive? and answer were made, That so he might by the example of the Israelites, who, at Goddes commandment, deceived the Egyptians, and spoiled them of their garments, golde, and sylver: I thinke likewise this reason shuld be mocked. And what greater force, I pray you, hath the former argument? Debora did rule in Israel, and Hulda spoke prophecie in Juda: *Ergo*, It is laufull for Women to reigne above realmes and nations, or to teache in the presence of men. The consequent is vain, and of none effect. For of examples, as is before declared, we may establishe no lawe; but we are alwayes bounde to the Lawe writen, and to the commandement expressed in the same. And the Lawe writen and pronounced by God forbiddeth no lesse that any Woman reigne over man, then it forbiddeth man to take pluralitie of wives, to mary two sisters living at ones, to steale, to robbe, to murther, or to lie. If any of these hath bene transgressed, and yet God

Examples against Lawe have no strength when the question is of Lawe.

NOTE.

hath not imputed the same, it maketh not the lik
lawfull unto us. For God being free, may, for su
be approved by his inscrutable wisdome, dispe
rigor of his lawe, and may use his creatures at
But the same power is not permitted to man, w
made subject to his Lawe, and not to the exampl
And this I thinke sufficient to the reasonable
spirites.

But to represse the raging of Woman's madn
scend somwhat deeper in to the matter, and
affirme, that as we find a contrarie spirit in al
wicked Women, that this day be exalted in to th
authoritie, to the spirite that was in those godly
feare not, I say, to affirme, that their condition
that their end shalbe divers. In those matrones
the spirit of mercie, truthe, justice, and of humili
Under them we finde that God did shewe mercie
delivering them from the tyrannie of strangiers,
venom of idolatrie, by the handes and counsel of
But in these of our ages, we finde crueltie, falshe
tousnes, deceit, and oppression. In them we
spirit of Jesabel and Athalia; under them we fi
people oppressed, the true religion extinguished,
of Christes membres most cruellie shed. And, fi
practises and deceit we finde auncient realme
geven and betrayed in to the handes of strangi
and liberties of them taken frome the juste posse
one thinge is an evident testimonie, howe unlike
Maryes be unto Debora, under whome were str
out of Israel, God so raising her up to be a m
liverer to his oppressed people. But (alas!) he
these Jesabelles to be the uttermoste of his plagu
man's unthankfulnes hath long deserved. But
most just judgement shal nether excuse them
maintainers, because their counsels be divers.

Antithesis betwixt the former matrones and our Jesabelles.

Note.

o prosecute my purpose, let such as list to defend these
s in their tyrannie prove, first, That their Sovereine mais-
be like to Debora in godlines and pitie: and secondarilie,
e same successe doth folowe their tyrannie, which did
the extraordinarie regiment of that godlie matrone.
thing, although they were able to do, (as they never shal- NOTE.
hem blowe til they burst,) yet shall her example profet
thing at all. For they are never able to prove that ether No godlie Woman did ever claime authoritie over Man by reason of her birth and blood.
or any other godlie woman, (having the commendation
Holie Ghoste within the Scriptures,) hath usurped autho-
ove any realme or nation by reason of their birth and
nether yet did they claime it by right or inheritance;
l by his singular priviledge, favor, and grace, exempted
from the common malediction geven to women in that
and against nature he made her prudent in counsel,
in courage, happie in regiment, and a blessed mother
iverer to his people. The which he did, partlie to ad- Why God sometymes worketh by extraordinarie meanes.
and notifie the power of his Majestie, aswell to his
es as to his owne people, in that, that he declared him-
e to geve salvation and deliverance by meanes of the
veake vesselles; and partlie he did it to confound and
all men of that age, because they had for the most part
l frome his true obedience. And therfore was the spirit
age, regiment, and boldnes taken frome them for a time,
confusion and further humiliation. But what maketh
Mary and her match Philippe? One thing I wold aske
e as depend upon the example of Debora, whether she
lowe or wife when she judged Israel, and when that God
hat notable victorie to his people under her? If they
she was widowe, I wold lay against them the testimonie
Holie Ghost, witnessing that she was wife to Lapidoth. Judic. 4.
they will shift and alledge that so she might be called,
standing that her husband was dead: I urge them fur-
hat they are not able to prove it to be any common
and maner of speache in the Scriptures, that a woman

shall be called the wife of a dead man, e
some note added, wherbie it may be know
Luc. 2. is departed, as is witnessed of Anna. Bu
Judges, there is no note added that her hu
Judic. 4. but rather the expressed contrarie. Fo
that time a woman named Debora, a pro
pidoth, judged Israel." The Holie Gho
that what time she judged Israel, she w
NOTE. If she was wife, and if she ruled all alone i
Why did she not preferre her husband
capitain, and to be leader to the host o
thinke that it was her husbande, the text p
for it affirmeth that Barak, of the trib
apointed to that office. If Barak had b
what purpose shuld the Holie Ghost so d
the tribe, and an other name then was be
to what purpose shuld it be noted that
him? Wherof I doubt not but that everie
consider, that this Barak was not her h
likwise, it is evident, that her judgemen
Israel was no such usurped power as our
sesse this day; but that it was the spiri
rested upon her, what time the multitud
wróght wickedly in the eyes of the Lord;
she did rebuke the idolatrie and iniquitie
them to repentance, and, in the end,
comfort, that God shuld deliver them fro
NOTE. thraldom of their ennemies. And this sh
standing that an other did occupie the
Magistrate, (if any was in those dayes in
2 Reg. 22. did Hulda, the wife of Sallum,[1] in the day
Juda, speake prophecie and comfort the
resigned to her nether the sceptre nor the
That this our interpretacion, how that

[1] In our present version, Huldah the prophetess,

is the true meaning of the Holie Ghost, the pondering and
of the historie shall manifestlie prove. When she send-
Barak, I pray you, in whose name geveth she him his
? Doth she speake to him as Kinges and Princes use to
to their subjectes in suche cases? No, but she speaketh
that had a speciall revelation from God, whiche nether
owen to Barak nor to the people, saying, "Hath not the
od of Israel commanded thee?" This is her preface, by
iche she wold stirre up the dull senses of Barak and of
ople, willing to persuade unto them, that the time was
when God wold shewe him selfe their protector and de-
in which preface, she usurpeth to her self nether power
thoritie. For she saith not, "I being thy Princesse,
aistresse, thy Sovereine Ladie and Quene, commande
on thine allegeance, and under pain of treason, to go
ther an armie." No, she spoileth her self of all power
mande, attributing that authoritie to God, of whom she
r revelation and certitude to appoint Barak capitain,
after appeareth more plainlie. For when she had de-
to him the hole counsel of God, apointing unto him
the nombre of his souldiors, as the tribes owt of which
uld be gathered; and when she had apointed the place
batel, (whiche she coulde not have done but by especiall
ion of God,) and had assured him of victorie in the name
and yet that he fainted, and openlie refused to entre
at journey, except that the Prophetesse wold accompanie
he did use against him no external power, she did not
n him with rebellion and death, but for assurance of his
art and weake conscience, being content to go with him,
nounceth, That the glorie shulde not be his in that jour-
t that the Lord shuld sell Sisera in to the hand of a
. Such as have more pleasure in light then in darknes
earlie perceive that Debora did usurpe no such power
horitie as our Quenes do this day claime; but that she
dued with the spirit of wisdome, of knowledge, and of

Debora commanded not as Princes use to commande.

the true feare of God, and by the same she judged
of the rest of the people. She rebuked their def
idolatry, yea, and also did redresse to her power t
that were done by man to man. But all this, I s
by the spirituall sworde, that is, by the Worde of Go
by any temporall regiment or authoritie whiche she
over Israel, in which, I suppose, at that time the
laufull Magistrate, by the reason of their greate
for so witnesseth the historie, saying, "And Ehud
the Lord sold Israel in to the hand of Jabin, King o
and he by Sisera his capitain afflicted Israel g
space of twentie yeares. And Debora her self, in
thankes geving, confesseth, that before she did arise
Israel, and in the dayes of Jael, there was nothing
sion and trouble. If any sticke to the terme, alle
the Holie Ghost saith "that she judged Israel," let t
stand, that nether doth the Ebrue word, nether yet
alwayes signifie Civile judgement, or the execution o
porall sword, but moste commonlie is taken in the se
we have before expressed. For of Christ it is said,
judge many nations," and that "He shall pronounce
to the Gentiles;" and yet it is evident that he was no
the temporal sword. God commandeth Jerusalem
to judge betwixt him and his vineyarde, and yet
not them all to be Civil magistrates. To Ezechie
"Shalt thou not judge them, Sonne of man?"
"Thou Sonne of man, shalt thou not judge? Shal
judge, I say, the citie of blood?" And also, "Beh
judge betwixt beast and beast." And such place
nombre, are to be founde throughout the hole Script
yet I trust no man wilbe so foolish as to thinke, t
the Prophetes were apointed by God to be polit
or to punishe the sinnes of man by corporal punishm
the maner of their judgement is expressed in the
"Declare to them all their abominations; and thou s

To judge is not alway understand of the civil regiment.

Isaie 2.

Isaie 42.
Mich. 4.

Isaie 5.

Ezech. 20.

Ezech. 22.

Ezech. 34.

Ezech. 22.

ıus saith the Lorde God; A citie shedding blood in the of her, that her time may approche, and which hath loles against her selfe that she might be polluted; st transgressed in the blood which thou hast shed; and polluted in the idoles which thou hast made." Thus, the Prophetes of God judge, pronouncing the sentence against malefactors. And so I doubt not but Debora what time Israel had declined from God, rebuking their n, and exhorting them to repentance, without usurpa-
ıny civill authoritie: And if the people gave unto her ne any reverence or honour, as her godlines and happie did well deserve, yet was it no such empire as our mon-ime; for which of her sonnes or nearest kinsmen left er and judge in Israel after her? The Holie Ghost th no such thing: wherof it is evident, that by her God offreth no occasion to establish any regiment of above men, realmes, and nations.

Note.

ow to the Second objection, in whiche Women require nem appeareth) nothing but equitie and justice, whilest d their patrones for them, require dominion and empire en. For this is their question: Is it not lauful that ıave their right and inheritance, like as the doughters ıead[1] were commanded by the mouth of Moses, to have rtion of grounde in their tribe?

An Answer to the Second Objection.

wer, It is not onlie laufull that Women possesse their nce, but I affirme also that justice and equitie require they do. But therwith I adde that whiche gladlie they understand, that to beare rule or authoritie over man er be right nor inheritance to Woman: for that can e just inheritance to any person whiche God by his ıath plainlie denied unto them: but to all Women hath ıied authoritie above man, as moste manifestlie is before l: therfore to her it can never be inheritance. And ıst the advocates of our Ladies provide some better ex-

What Woman wold not gladly heare.

[1] See *supra*, p. 402, note 1.

ample and stronger argument, for the lawe made
the doughters of Zalphead will serve them nothin
suredlie greate wonder it is, that in so greate ligh
truthe, men list to grope and wander in darkn
them speak of conscience, if the petition of any o
named women was to reigne over any one tribe,
over any one man within Israel. Plain it is they
onlie required that they might have a portion
amonge the men of their tribe, lest that the na
father shuld be abolished: And this was grante
without respect had to any civil regiment. And w
this, I pray you, for the establishing of this monstr
of Women? The question is not, If women may no
possession, substance, patrimonie, or inheritance,
thers may leave to their children, for that I willin
But the question is, If women may succede to the
offices, and chieflie to that office the executor
occupie the place and throne of God. And that I
denie, and feare not to say, that to place a woman i
above a realme is to pollute and prophane the roya
throne of justice, which oght to be the throne o
that to mainteine them in the same is nothing el
nuallie to rebell against God.

The doughters of Zalphead desired to reigne over no man in Israel.

Women may succede to inheritance but not to office.

One thing there is yet to be noted and obser
lawe made concerning the inheritance of the d
Zalphead, to wit, That it was forbidden unto the
without their owne tribe, lest that such portion
their lotte shuld be transferred frome one tribe
and so should the tribe of Manasses be defr
spoiled of their just inheritance by their occa
avoiding of which, it was commanded by Moses
shuld marie in the familie or householde of the
kindred of their father. Wonder it is, that the
and patrones of the right of our Ladies did no
and ponder this lawe, before that they counseled

Num 36.

Our Patrones for Women do not marke this caution.

and unworthie Nobles of their countries to betray erties therof in to the handes of strangiers. Eng- or satisfying of the inordinat appetites of that cruell e Marie, (unworthie, by reason of her bloodie tyrannie, name of a woman,) betrayed, alas! to the proude rde: and Scotland, by the rashe madnes of foolish ers, and by the practises of a craftie Dame, resigned e, under title of mariage, in to the power of France. ich translation of realmes and nations please the justice or is the possession, by such means obteined, lauful in t? Assured I am that it is not. No other wise, I say, that possession wherunto theves, murtherers, tyrannes, pressors do attein by theft, murther, tyrannie, violence, and oppression, whiche God of his secrete (but yet most dgement doth often permit for punishment, aswel of the s as of the violent oppressors, but doth never approve e as laufull and godlie. For if he wold not permit that eritance of the children of Israel shuld passe frome one an other by the mariage of any doughter, notwithstand- they were all one people, all spake one tonge, all were ed of one father, and all did professe one God and one : if yet, I say, God wold not suffer that the commo- d usuall frute which might be gathered of the portion nde limited and assigned to one tribe shulde passe to r, will he suffer that the liberties, lawes, commodities, tes of hole realmes and nations be geven in to the power tribution of others by the reason of mariage; and in the of suche as besides that they be of a strange tonge, of maners and lawes, they are also ignorant of God, es to his truth, deniers of Christ Jesus, persecutors of e membres, and haters of all vertue? As the odious of Spaniardes doth manifestlie declare, who for very which they do beare against Christe Jesus, whome their ers did crucifie, (for Jewes they are, as histories do e, and they themselves confesse,) do this day make

Realmes gotten by practises are no juste possession.

NOTE.

The Spaniardes are Jewes, and they bragge that Marie of England is of the roote of Jesse.

plaine warre against all true professors of his
And howe blindlie and outragiouslie the Frenche
pestilent Prelates do fight against the veritie of G
ing fires which lick up the innocent blood of Chri
do witnesse,[1] and by his cruel edictes[2] is notified an
And yet to these two cruell tyrannes (to France
meane) is the right and possession of England a
apointed. But just or laufull shall that possessi
till God do chaunge the statute of his former law
will not do for the pleasure of man. For he hath
the earth to satisfie the ambition of two or three t
for the universall seed of Adam, and hath apointed
the boundes of their habitation, to diverse natio
divers countries, as He him selfe confesseth, speak
in these wordes: "You shal passe by the boundes
of your bretheren, the sonnes of Esau, who dwell in
They shall feare you; but take diligent hede that
your selves cruell against them; for I will geve
of their land; no, not the bredth of a foote; for
I have geven to Esau to be possessed." And the s
witnesse of the sones of Lot, to whom he had gever
possessed. And Moses plainlie affirmeth, that w
mightie did distribute and divide possessions to t
and when he did disperse and scatter the sonnes
then he did apoint the limites and boundes of peo
nomber of the sonnes of Israel: Wherof it is plai
hath not exposed the earth in pray to tyrannes,

Note the Law which he hath proclaimed in France against such as he termeth Lutherians.

Act. 17.

Deuter. 2.

Deut. 32.

NOTE.

[1] See *supra*, p. 289.

[2] In the year 1551, the edict of Henry the Second, known as the Edict of Châteaubriand, contained forty-six articles, denouncing severe punishment on the Lutherans, with the view of suppressing heresy, and overcoming the wilfulness and obstinacy "of this unhappy sect." But this and similar edicts had no such effect; and in May 155 were burned at Lyon, in the course of the s sides such as suffered louse, and other parts this period, every ind "se plaisoit," in the wo di, "à inventer pour les tourmens plus atroces." Français, tome xvii. pp

ıfull which by violence and murther they may possesse; : he hath apointed to every severall nation a severall on, willing them to stand content (as nature did teache ıik to affirme) with that portion whiche by lotte and ınes they had enjoyed. For what causes God permit- s his distribution to be troubled, and the realmes of nations to be possessed of strangiers, I delay at this ntreate. Onelie this I have recited, to geve the worlde rstand that the reigne, empire, and authoritie of Wo- ;h no grounde within Goddes Scriptures. Yea, that or provinces possessed by their mariage is nothing but conquest; for so litle doth the lawe made for the rs of Zalphead helpe the cause of your Quenes, that it fighteth against them, both damning their authoritie . But now to the Third Objection.

Cicero Offic. lib. 1.

Realmes gotten by mariage is unjust conquest.

Answer to the Third Objection.

Consent, say they, of realmes and lawes pronounced and d in this behalfe, long consuetude and custome, to- vith the felicitie of some Women in their empires, have ıed their Authoritie. To whome I answer, that nether tyrannie of princes, nether the foolishnes of people, vicked lawes made against God, nether yet the felicitie this earthe may herof insue, make that thing laufull e by his Word hath manifestlie condemned. For if the tion of princes and people, and lawes made by men, or sent of realmes, may establishe any thing against God Word, then shuld idolatrie be preferred to the true ; for mo[1] realmes and nations, mo lawes and decrees ed by Emperours with common consent of their coun- ve established the one then have approved the other: t I thinke that no man of sounde judgement will ther- tifie and defend idolatrie; no more oght any man to ne this odious empire of Women, althogh that it were d of all men by their lawes. For the same God, that in ordes forbiddeth idolatrie, doth also forbidde the autho-

[1] "Mo," more.

ritie of women over man; as the wordes rehearsed do plainly teach us. And th be deposed from that unjust Authori usurped it so long,) or if all such honor I feare not to affirme that they are neth nor inheritance. For to Woman can th nor laufull (muche lesse inheritance) whic festlie denied unto them.

Women may and ought to be deposed from Authoritie.

I am not ignorant that the subtill w (which can never be broght under the simple preceptes) to maintein this monstr two vaine shiftes. First, they alledge, may not absolutelie reigne by themselve nether sit in judgement, nether pronou execute any publike office, yet may they d their lieutenantes, deputies, and judges arilie, say they, a Woman borne to rule chose her a husband, and to him she ma her authoritie and right. To both I ans First, That frome a corrupt and venomed no holsome water. Secondarilie, That no to geve the thing which doth not justlie selves: But the authoritie of a woman is a and therfore from her can never spring any is not borne to rule over men, and therf none by her gift, nor by her power (which s place of a laufull Magistrat; and therfore, eth of a woman office or authoritie, are adu officers before God. This may appeare st affirmation, but if we will be as indifferent cause of God as that we can be in the cause shall sodeinlie appeare. The case supposed conspiracie usurped the royall seat and dign in the same did so establish him selfe, that h and did what him list for a time; and in th

The Fourth Objection.

Woman can make no laufull officer.

Let England and Scotland take hede.

ng made streit inhibition to all his subjects, that none
ere to this traitor, nether yet receive any dignitie of
, neverthelesse, they wold honor the same traitor as
d become his officers in all affaires of the realme.
he native Prince did recover his just honor and pos-
huld he repute or esteme any man of the traitor's
nt for a laufull Magistrate, or for his frende and true
Or shuld he not rather with one sentence condemne
with the membres? And if so he shuld do, who were
ccuse him of rigor, much lesse to condemne his sen-
njustice? And dare we denie the same power to God
e case? For that Woman reigneth above man, she
ined it by treason and conspiracie committed against
ow can it be then, that she, being criminall and giltie
against God committed, can apoint any officer pleas-
s sight? It is a thing impossible. Wherfore, let men
ive of women authoritie, honor, or office, be most as-
ersuaded, that in so mainteining that usurped power,
are themselves ennemies to God. If any thinke, that
he Realme and Estates therof have geven their con-
a woman, and have established her and her authoritie,
fore it is laufull and acceptable before God, let the
remembre what I have said before, to wit, that God
approve the doing nor consent of any multitude, con-
ny thing against his worde and ordinance; and ther-
must have a more assured defense against the wrath
hen the approbation and consent of a blinded multi-
elles they shall not be able to stand in the presence of
ming fire: That is, they must acknowledge that the
of a Woman is a thing most odious in the presence of
ey must refuse to be her officers, because she is a
e and rebell against God; and finallie, they must
represse her inordinate pride and tyrannie to the
t of their power.

Woman in authoritie is rebel against God.

ame is the dutie of the Nobilitie and Estates, by

What the Nobilitie oght to do in this behalf.

whose blindnes a Woman is promoted. F
as they have moste haynouslie offended agai
in authoritie suche as God by his Word
frome the same, unfeinedly they oght to call
being admonished of their error and damna
and token of true repentance, with comm
oght to retreate that which unadvisedlie a
they have pronounced; and oght, without
remove from authority all such persones a
violence, or tyrannie, do possesse the same.
and Juda after they had revolted from David
in the dayes of Athalia. For after that sh
her sonnes children, had obteined the empi
and had most unhappelie reigned in Juda si
the High priest called together the capitaine
of the people, and shewing to them the Kinge
binde them by an othe to depose that wicked w
mote the King to his royall seat; which they fa
ing at his commandement not onlie that cruel
woman, but also the people did destroie the
break his altars and images, and kill Math
priest, before his altars.

2 Reg. 11.

Marke this fact, for it agreth with Goddes Lawe pronounced.

The same is the dutie aswell of the Estates
that hath bene blinded. First, They oght
honor and authoritie that monstre in natu
woman cled in the habit of man, yea, a wom
reigning above man. Secondarilie, If any pr
that impietie, they oght not to feare first t
then after to execute against them the sen
If any man be affraid to violat the oth of
they have made to suche monstres, let them l
persuaded, that as the beginning of their
from ignorance, was sinne, so is the obstinate
the same nothing but plaine rebellion again

[1] In our present version, Mattan.

r in THE SECOND BLAST, God willing, we shall speake
rge.[1]

we, to put an end to THE FIRST BLAST: Seing that by
of Nature; by the malediction and curse pronounced
Voman, by the mouth of S. Paule, the interpreter of
entence; by the example of that Common welth in
d by his Word planted ordre and policie; and finallie,
gement of the most godlie writers, God hath dejected
rome rule, dominion, empire, and authoritie above
eover, seing that nether the example of Debora, nether
made for the doughters of Zalphead, nether yet the
nsent of an ignorant multitude, be able to justifie
ne God so plainlie hath condemned; let all men take An Admonition.
quarell and cause frome hencefurthe they do defend.
ise up any noble harte to vendicat the libertie of his
and to suppresse the monstruous empire of Women,
he as shal presume to defend them in the same mosto
knowe, that in so doing they lift their hand against
that one day they shall finde his power to fight
eir foolishnes. Let not the faithfull, godlie, and
rtes of Christes souldiours be utterlie discouraged,
t let the tyrannes rejoise, albeit for a time they
against such as studie to represse their tyrannie, and
them from unjust authoritie. For the causes [are
God] alone[2] why he suffereth the souldiours to fail in
me neverthelesse he commandeth to fight. As some-
Israel fighting against Benjamin. The cause of the
was most just; for it was to punishe that horrible
on of those sonnes of Belial, abusing the Levite's Judic. 20.
ne the Benjamites did defend; and they had Goddes
assure them of well-doing, for he did not onelie com-
m to fight, but also apointed Juda to be their leader

nd of his "Appellation," iven "the Propositions" rposed to entreat in his t. See *infra*.

[2] "The causes alone:" The words within brackets are supplied, as necessary to render the sentence intelligible.

and capitain; and yet fell they twise in plai
those most wicked adulterers.

Why God permitteth sometimes his owne souldiers to fall in batel.

The secret cause of this, I say, is known to
by his evident Scriptures we may assuredly
such means doth his wisdome sometimes beat
of the flesh, (for the Israelites at the firste tru
titude, power, and strength,) and sometim
throwes he will punishe the offenses of his o
bring them to the unfeined knowledge of th
will geve them victorie against the manifest c
he hath apointed neverthelesse to uttermost
end of that batel did witnesse. For althogh
ther the children of Israel did twise fall befor
yet after they had wept before the Lorde, afte
and made sacrifice in signe of their unfeined
so prevailed against that proude tribe of Be
twenty-five thousande strong men of warr
batel, they destroyed man, woman, childe, a
in the fieldes as in the cities, whiche all were
so that onelie of that hole tribe remained si
who fled to the wildernes, where they remaine
and so were saved.

Judic. 20.

Note.

The same God who did execute this gre
even by the handes of those whom he suffred
comen in batel, doth this day retein his p
Cursed Jesabel of England, with the pestile
generation of Papistes, make no litle bragg
they have triumphed not only against Wyet,

[1] "Plain batel," the field of battle.

[2] Sir Thomas Wyatt, son of the distinguished statesman and poet of the same name, during the reign of Henry the Eighth. After the untimely death of Edward the Sixth, having joined in the unsuccessful effort to place the Lady Jane Grey on the throne, he
high treason, a
the 11th of Apr
Goodman in h
in order to show
is to judge the
refers, like Kn
Israelites when

as have entreprised any thing against them or their ges. But let her and them consider, that yet they prevailed against God: his throne is more high then length of their hornes be able to reache. And let ther consider, that in the beginning of this their eigne, the harvest of their iniquitie was not comen to ritie and ripenes: No! it was so grene, so secret I covered, and so hid with hypocrisie, that some men servantes of God) thoght it not impossible but that ight be changed in to lambes, and also that the vipere move her natural venom. But God, who doth revele e apointed the secretes of hartes, and that will have mentes justified even by the verie wicked, hath now en testimonie of her and their beastlie crueltie. For woman, learned and unlearned, nobles and men of te, aged fathers and tendre damiselles, and, finallie, s of the dead, aswell women as men, have tasted of nnie. So that now, not onlie the blood of Father Lati- he milde man of God the Bishop of Cantorburie,[1] of and discrete Ridley, of innocent Ladie Jane Dudley,[2] y godly and worthie Preachers that can not be for- ich as fier hath consumed, and the sworde of tyrannie

in; and in mentioning enters into a justification empt. In answer to the What then moved him to rous enterprise?" he says, he zeale of God's truth, e that he had to his Coun- e miseries he sawe to ap- the usurped power of un- bell, and her merciles Pa- souldiers of Antichryst!" ards exclaims, "O noble u art now with God, and ny men that died for that Happy art thou, and they placed in your everlasting , and freed from the mise- ries of such as were your enemies in so just and lawfull a cause!—For what can your Nobles or Counsellers saye for yourselves at that daye when God shall call yow to accompt (ye knowe not how sone,) which have permitted Wyatt, and with him the whole Church and Commonwelth of England, to fall in to the hands of God's enemies, and would not reskewe him, some of you having then in your handes sufficient power," &c. (P. 203.)

[1] Archbishop Cranmer.

[2] Better known as the Lady Jane Grey. She enjoyed the Royal dignity only thirteen days.

most unjustlie hath shed, doth call for ven
of the Lord God of hostes; but also the s
the poore oppressed, the groninges of the
men of the Lord, yea, and everie earthlie
their tyrannie, do continuallie crie and call
cution of the same. I feare not to say, t
geance, whiche shall apprehend that horri
of England, and such as maintein her mo
alredie apointed in the counsel of the Ete
beleve, that it is so nigh, that she shall n
tyrannie as hitherto she hath done,[1] when
him selfe to be her ennemie, when he sha
tempt upon her according to her crueltie,
hartes of such as somtimes did favor her
against her, that they may execute his
therefore let such as assist her, take hed
assuredlie her empire and reigne is a wall
I meane the same of the Authoritie of a
bene underpropped this blind time that is p
nes of people, and with the wicked lawes of
nous Princes. But the fier of Goddes Wo
those rotten proppes, (I include the Pope's
and presentlie they burn, albeit we espie n
they are consumed, (as shortlie they will be
timbre can not long indure the fier,) th
usurped and unjust empire of Women, s
despit of all man,[2] to the destruction of so
to uphold it. And therfore let all man be
TRUMPET HATH ONES BLOWEN.[3]

The Authoritie of all Women is a wall without foundation.

Praise God, ye that feare

[1] This prediction of Knox as to the speedy termination of Queen Mary's reign, whom he here styles Jesabel of England, proved correct. She died in the sixth year of her reign, on the 17th of November 1558, or within seven or eig
tion of "The

[2] "All ma

[3] "Ones
blown for th

ecently obtained a copy of Frarin's "Oratio," I find that the pas-
d at page 360–1 from Fouler's translation are in substance con-
e original work; and that he also quotes "The First Blast" as the
oodman. Anthony Wood, at a later date, falls into a similar
his account of Goodman, Athenæ Oxon., vol. i. p. 722. In a
edition by Dr Bliss of that most important work, this mistake is
y a reference to Strype.

-page and the passages in Frarin's work referred to, read as fol-
RATIO PETRI FRARINI Antverpiensis, Artium Magistri, et V. I. Bac-
nod male, reformandæ religionis nomine, arma sumpserunt Sectarij
oris. Habita in Scholis Artium, Louanij, 19. Calendas Ianuarij.
. Lovanii, apud Joannem Foulerum, M.D.LXVI." 8vo.
e Angliæ proditoribus Evangelicis dicam, qui numeroso exercitu,
tissimam illam suam Reginam Mariam, rarum nostri sæculi decus
m, collecto, Regiam sagittis et jaculis petierunt? Omitto illud,
issima Scotiæ Regina, summo cum capitis sui periculo, suis diu
vivit." (Fol. 33. a.)
plane spiritu Goodmannus quidam, natione Anglus, acerrimus
Evangelii Buccinator, optimam suam Dominam Illustriss. Angliæ
Iariam exosus, non ante multos annos libellum edidit monstrosum
a Monstrosum, ut asserebat, Regimen Mulierum. Proserpinam
liss. et plusquam pientissimam fœminam appellabat impudens
ditor improbissimus: tum unius odio omnes ad unam mulieres
ntumelia, turpissimis verbis, sceleratissimis conviciis insectatur:
sse mulierum contendit cum imperio esse aut in luce Reip. versari:
mile esse si fœminæ parere cogantur viri, publicæque administra-
mam mulieres regere permittantur. Si odio mulierum, etc."
)
nargin to the last quotation are the words, GOODMAN CONT. MONSTR.
LIE."
hew Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter to
as Bacon, 1st March 1558–9, expresses his abhorrence of the doc-
ained in the First Blast and in Goodman's treatise, in the following
these works: "At my last being at London, I heard and saw
ted, which be spread abroad, whose authors be Ministers of good
: the doctrine of the one [Knox] is to prove, that a lady Woman
by God's Word, a governor in a Christian realm. And in another

book going abroad, is matter set out to prove, that it is la
vate subject to kill his Sovereign, *ferro, veneno, quocumqu*
him to be a tyrant in his conscience, yea, and worthy to
his attempt: *exhorrui cum ista legerem.* If such principles b
heads," &c.—(Correspondence of Abp. Parker, p. 60, Lond

It may also be noticed, that the works of Knox, Good
included in "The Judgment and Decree of the University
their Convocation held on July 21, 1683, against certain
and Damnable Doctrines destructive to the Sacred perso
State and Government, and of all Human Society. Prin
1683." Folio.

A LETTER

TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER,

REGENT OF SCOTLAND:

AUGMENTED AND EXPLAINED

BY THE AUTHOR.

M.D.LVIII.

STANFORD LIBRARIES

ous part of this volume contains the Letter which, he month of May 1556, Knox, then residing in Scot- dressed to Mary of Guise, Queen Dowager. In the fol- ages,[1] and also in his History of the Reformation,[2] after hat it was presented to her Majesty by Alexander Earl airne, he says, "which Letter, when she had read, within two she delivered it to that proud prelate Betoun, f Glasgow, and said in mockery, 'Please you, my Lord, a Pasquil.' Which words coming to the ears of the n, were the occasion that to his Letter he made his Ad- as yet may be seen." It is clear that Knox felt very t at this remark, and expressed his conviction that the Dowager had not read the Letter with the attention deserved; for, as his Biographer remarks, it is written e courtly style than any of his similar productions, in the influencing her to countenance the great object of the nt Reformers. In the "Additions," he addresses her er terms; and a few years later, after the Queen's e somewhat complacently adds: "As concerning the ings pronounced against her own person, and the prin- her friends, let their very flatterers see what has failed hat he has written."[3] The Letter, thus augmented, nted at Geneva, probably about July 1558. It is now reprinted from that edition; as the Additions would ntelligible except in connection with the Letter itself.

James the Sixth succeeded to the throne of England, s of Church Government and Discipline underwent a change. Having occasionally been subjected to the

e page 457. [2] Vol. i. p. 252. [3] Ib. p. 252.

stern public rebukes of the Presbyterian clerg
that he should receive with complacency the h
English Prelates rendered him as Head of the
celebrated Conference at Hampton Court, ir
he introduced a reference to Knox's Letter
much too characteristic to be overlooked in th

Dr Reynolds, a most learned divine, who ar
of the Puritans, having spoken of the King's
in answer to a question, having conceded the
then, saith his Majesty, I will tell you
that the religion restored by King Edward
soone overthrown, by the succession of Quee
England, we in Scotland felt the effect of
Master Knoxe writes to the Queene Regent,
out flattery, I may say, that she was a vertuo
Lady,) telling her that she was Supreme Hea
and charged her, as she would aunswere it be
nall, to take care of Christ his Evangil, and o
Popish prelates, who withstoode the same.
trow yee, did this continue? Even so long, t
rity the Popish bishops were repressed, h
his adherentes were brought in, and well setl
means made strong enough to undertake the r
mation themselves. Then, loe they begann
account of her Supremacy, nor would longe
authority, but tooke the cause into their ow
cording to that more light wherwith they v
made a further Reformation of religion. Ho
poore Lady my Mother is not unknowne, a
may remember it: who, because shee had not
instructed, did desire only a private chappell,
God after her manner, with some few select
her Supremacy was not sufficient to obtaine it
And how they dealt with me in my Minorit
it was not done secretly, and thogh I would, I

ill apply it thus:" And then putting his hand to his Majestie saide, "My Lordes the Bishops, I may thanke t these men doe thus plead for my Supremacy. They ey cannot make their party good against you but by g unto it, as if you, or some that adhere unto you, t well affected towardes it. But if once you were out y in place, I know what would become of my Supre- No Bishop, no King, as before I said. Neither doe I eak at randon without grounde, for I have observed y comming into England, that some preachers before be content to pray for James, King of England, Scot- ance, and Ireland, defender of the Faith; but as for e Governour in all causes, and over all persons (aswell ticall as civill), they passe that over with silence; and t they have beene of I after learned."[1]

ply to "this tale," it may be remarked, that on no oc- nas Knox, or his brethren, styled either the Queen or any of her successors, Supreme Head of the Church. addressing her as a person "indued with wisdom and ingular," he also speaks, in 1556, of her "happy govern- nd of her "moderation and clemency." But while re- g her regal title, as the head of the Civil authority, to he maintenance of the true religion was committed, he y cautions her, that should she hinder the progress of h, "this pre-eminence whereon ye are placed shall be jection to torment and pain everlasting." He admits, xisting circumstances, "your Grace may not hastily superstition, and remove from offices unprofitable pas- ut he adds, that "the negligence of Bishops shall no required of the hands of Magistrates, than shall the

Summe and Substance of rence, which it pleased his Majestie to have with the hops, and other of his Cler- hich the most of the Lordes uncell were present), in his Majesties Privy-Chamber, at Hampton Court, Ianuary 14. 1603, [1603–4.] Contracted by William Barlow, Doctor of Divinity, and Deane of Chester," p. 80–82, Lond. 1604, 4to.

oppression of false Judges." . . . . "If your Gr
reign with Christ Jesus, then it behoveth you
his true religion, which this day within your
formed, that no part of Christ's ordinances rema
strength and purity." It is scarcely necessary
the King's assertion of the Popish Bishops in S
been suppressed by the Queen Regent, is equ
This was a measure which, in consequence
dissimulation, required to be taken in hand,
effected by the Reformers themselves in opp
authority.

THE COPIE

OF A LETTRE DE-liuered to the ladie Marie, Regent of Scotland, frome Iohn Knox minister of Goddes worde, in the yeare of our Lord 1556, and nowe augmented and explaned by the Author, in the yeare of our Lord 1558.

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"Additions" being, for the sake of dist
probably, printed in a smaller type.

'HE EXCELLENT LADIE MARIE WAGIER, REGENT OF SCOTLAND.

use moving me, Right Honorable, to present this my ation unto your Grace, enlarged and in some places ex- (which being in the Realme of Scotland, in the moneth 1556, I caused to be presented to your Grace) is the le rage of such as beare the title of Bishoppes, who all justice and equitie have pronounced against me a uell Sentence, condemning my bodie to fier, my soule to ion, and all doctrine taught by me to be false, deceiva- hereticall. If this injury did tende to me alone, hav- testimonie of a good conscience, with silence I could he mater, being assured that such as they curse and heir synagoges for such causes, shall God blesse, and Jesus receive in his eternal societie. But considering s their blasphemie is vomited furth against the eternall f Christes Evangile; (wherof it hath pleased the greate of God to make me a minister), I can not cease to swell to your Grace as unto them, that so litle I am of their tyrannicall and surmised Sentence, that in the picture[1] (if God impede not my purpose) they shall bodie to justifie that doctrine which they (members of blasphemouslie do condemne. Advertising your Grace eane time, that from them, their sentence, and tyrannie, n all those that list mainteine them in the same, I do to a laufull and generall Counsell,[2] besechinge your

fra, p. 463.

lso the commencement of his "Appellation," which immediately follows this Letter.

Grace to take in good part that I call you
have required the libertie of tonge, and n
before your Grace and the bodie of that real
such processe was laid against me, as this
to your Grace doth testifie.

THE BEGINNING OF THE LETTRE.

rnall providence of the same God, who hath appointed
en children to fight in this transitorie and wretched Gene 3. Mat. 10. Act. 14.
tell strong and difficile, hath also appointed their final
by a mervelous fashion; and the maner of their preser-
n their batell, more mervelous. Their victorie standeth
esisting, but in suffering; as our Sovereine Maister pro- Matth. 5. Joh. 14, 16.
h to his Disciples, that in their pacience shuld they
their soules. And the same forsawe the Prophete Isaie 9.
hen that he painteth furth all other batell to be with
, tumult, and blood shedding, but the victorie of Goddes
o be in quietnes, silence, and hope; meanyng, that all
hat obtein victorie do inforce themselves to resist their
ies, to shed blood, and to murther. But so do not the
God, but all thinges they sustein at the commandement
who hath appointed theim to suffer, being most assured-
uaded, that then onlie they triumphe, when all men
em oppressed. For in the crosse of Christ allwaies is In the Crosse of Christ is victorie hid.
a secrete and hid victorie, never well knowen till the
appeare all togither to be (as it were) exterminat.
n onlie did the blood of Abell cry to God, when proude
dged all memorie of his brother to have bene extin-
And so I say their victorie is mervelous. And howe
y can be preserved, and not broght to utter confusion,
of man perceiveth not. But He, whose power is infi- Isaie 40, 41, 51.
secret and hid motions, toucheth the hartes of such as,
nes judgement, have power to destroye them, of verie
d compassion to save his people; as that He did the

Exod. 2. hartes of the Egyptian midwifes, to preserve
of the Israelites, when precept was given b
destruction: The hart of Pharao's daughter
Moses in his yong infancie, exposed to the dan
4 Reg. 25. Jerem. 52. The hart of Nabuchadnezer to preserve the c
liberallie to norish the children that were fou
Esdr 1. And finallie the hart of Cyrus, to set at libe
Note. God, after long bondage and thraldome. A
invisible power and love of God manifeste it
elect frome time to time, for two causes spe
comfort his weake warriours in their manifo
ting them understand that he is able to com
times were ennemies to his people, to fight i
to promote their deliverance. And secondar
timonie of his favour to them, that by all a
Ephes. 2. before (as S. Paule speaketh) wanting God i
strangiers frome the common welth of Israel,
leage of his mercifull promise and free gr
church. For who could have affirmed, that
sonnes afore named had bene of that natu
before occasions were offred unto them? B
mercie shewed to the afflicted have left to
God used them as vessels of his honour. For
shewed to Christes afflicted flock, as they nev
temporall, so if they be continued, and be n
crueltie, are assured signes and seales of ever
be received from God, who by his Holie Spi
hartes to shew mercie to the people of Go
afflicted.

ADDITION.

This preface I used, to give your Grace occa
to consider what hath bene the condition of
from the beginnyng, that in so doing, ye migh
newe thing that the saintes of God be oppres

moved by earnest contemplation of the same, might
ie rather to save them from murther, (althogh by the
counsels of many ye were provoked to the contrary),
e a sclave to Satan, obeying his servantes your Clergie,
rie is bent against God and his veritie. But this will
owe in our Lettre, which thus procedeth.

LETTRE.

Grace perchance doth wonder to what purpose these
e recited, and I in verie dede can not wonder ynough
sion is offred to me, a worme most wretched, to recite
at this present. For I have looked rather for the
of death, then to have written to your Grace in these
most wicked daies, in which Satan so blindeth the
many, that innocentes are damned, their cause never

ADDITION.

ye can not be ignorant. For besides these whom ye
m time to time most cruelly to be murthered in France,
ayn, Flanders, and now of late yeares besides you in
for no cause, but that they professe Christ Jesus to
lie Saviour of the world, the onlie Mediatour betwixt
man, the onlie sacrifice acceptable for the synnes of
ll; and finallie, the onlie head to his Churche. Besides
ay, (of whome ye heare the brute[1]), ye have bene wit-
t some, within the Realme of Scotland, for the same
st cruelly have bene murthered, whose cause was never
indifferencie.[2] But murtherers occupying the Seat of
ave shed the blood of Christes true witnesses; which
then appeare to be consumed away with fier, yet is
n the presence of Hym for whose cause they did suffer,
th not to call for vengeance, with the blood of Abell,
t onlie upon such as were authors of that murther

The causes why the saintes of God be this day persecuted.
1 Jo. 1, 2.
Hebr. 6 & 10.
Ephes. 5.

[1] "te," report.

[2] "Indifferencie," impartiality

but also upon all those that maintein those ty
tyranny, or that do consent to their beastlie
not this as the affirmation of any man, but hea
Matth. 23. the voice of the Sonne of God: "Fulfill (saieth
of your fathers, that all the blood which hath
the blood of Abel the just, till the blood of Za
come upon this generation." Herebie it is e
murtherers of our time, aswel as in the time of
tie of all blood that hath bene shed from the be
full, I grant, is the sentence, yet is it most e
Who soever sheddeth the blood of one of Christes membres for his names sake, consenteth to the blood of all that have suffred since the begynning.
For whosoever sheddeth the blood of any one
his membres, for professing of his truth, conse
murther which hath ben made since the begynni
for that cause. So that as there is one co
Goddes elect, of whom everie membre is partici
justice of Christ; so is there a communion amor
by which everie one of the serpentes seed a
NOTE. gyltie of all iniquitie which the hole bodie
because they are all togither conjured again
and against his eternall veritie, everie one se
Prince of this world, in their rank, age, de
the murtherers of their brethren, whiche th
Gene. 4. gyltie with Cain of the blood of Abel. The kin
whiche by power oppresse the people of God, a
that the people trulie worshippe God, as he h
but will retein them in Egipt, are brethren an
Pharao. The prelates and priestes, whose h
and insolent life have infected all realmes w
Math. 23. have with their fathers, the old Pharisies, tak
of knowlege, and have shut up the kingdome
men, so that nether they themselves will enter
they suffer others to enter in the same. An
blynded, some by ignorance, some by feare, a
appetite of their parte of the spoyle (for Christ
the souldiours parted amongest them his gar

o defende those murtherers, proude pestilent prelates, Christ Jesus, and against his poore flocke; and ther-
ause of one crime they are all gyltie (which is of treason ellion against Christ), of one torment they shall all taste, s, of the fier that never shall be quenched. And herin ou, Madam, be circumspect and careful, if that ye have be of the life to come. For if the consente which pro- of ignorance and blyndnes bringeth destruction and as Christ our maister doth witnesse, saying, "If the lead the blynde, they shall both fall in the ditch,") hall become of the proud and malitious contemner of veritie offred? But our doctrine, parchance, shalbe to be the veritie: wherunto I answer, that so was the e of Noah, of Moses, of the Prophetes, of Christ Jesus, his Apostles; and yet the originall worlde perished by Sodome and Gomorra by fier descending from heaven; and his adherentes in the Red Sea; the citie of Jeru- the hole nation of the Jewes, by punishmentes and notwithstandinge that the hole multitude cried, "This ve doctrine, this is heresie, and tendeth to sedition." tition is, that our doctrine may be tryed by the playn of God, that libertie be granted to us to utter and our myndes at large in everie article and poynt which e in controversie; which if ye denie, geving eare to s ennemies, (who condemne his doctrine for heresie,) ye ink the cup of Goddes vengeance with them. But now ormer Lettre.

Mat. 16.

Answer to an Objection.

Gene. 19.

Exod. 14. Josephus.

The Petition of such as be Persecuted.

LETTRE.

ubte not but the rumors which have commen to your eares of me have bene such that, if all reportes were were unworthie to live in the earth; and wonder it is e voices of the multitude shuld not so have inflammed race's hart with juste hatred of such a one as I am to be, that all accesse to pitie shuld have bene shut

up. I am traduced as an heretike, accused
and seducer of the people, besides other c
affirmed by men of worldlie honour and estin
lie kyndle the wrath of Magistrates where
knowen. But blessed be God, the Father o
Christ, who, by the dewe of his heavenli
quenched the fier of displeasure as yet in yo
which of late dayes I have understande, tha
trate of his interprise and purpose; which is to
comfort; not so much, God is witnesse, for a
can receive in this miserable life by protecti
creature, (for the cuppe which it behoveth
appointed by the wisdome of Hym whose
changeable,) as that I am for that benefit, wh
your Grace shall receive, if that ye continue in
and clemencie towardes others, that most
shall be accused, as that your Grace hath be
and my most desperate cause. That is, if th
dome ye shall studie to bridle the furie and ra
for the maintenance of their worldlie pompe,
the cruelie murthering of simple innocentes
Matth. 5. who doth pronounce mercie to appertein to t
Mat. 10. promiseth that a cuppe of cold water geven fo
shall not lacke reward, first cause your ha
to be praised in this present age, and in po
and last recompense your godlie paynes and
1 Cor. 2. joye and glorie which the eye hath not seen,
in to the hart of mortall creature.

ADDITION.

Mat. 10. If Christes wordes were estemed true, tha
word an accompt shall be geven, and that not
lie done which shall not come to knowledge
pose that the tonges of men shuld be better
pudently to speake their pleasure in maters

hat the true feare of God shuld not move them to truthe, yet wold I thinke, if any sparke of humanitie d, that worldlie shame shuld impede them to lie. easoninge was before your Grace what man it was that l in Aire, and divers men were of divers opynion, some g that it was an Englishman, and some supposing the e, a Prelat, not of the least pride, said, "Nay, no nan, but it is Knox that knave." It was my Lordes so to baptise a poore man; the reason wherof, if it required, his rochet and miter must stand for autho- What further libertie he used in defining thinges like n to him, to witt, of my learning and doctrine, at this I omitt; lamenting more that such pestilent tonges ertie to speake in the presence of Princes, then that I for any hurt that their venom can do to me in bodie For what hath my life and conversation bene, since pleased God to call me frome the puddle of Papistrie, erie ennemies speak; and what learning I have, they ve when they please. The report of your Grace's mo-, aswell at that time as after, when sute was made for ehension, moved me to write this my other Lettre. In lbeit I have not played the orator, dilating and deck- mater for the pleasure of ytching and delicate eares, my conscience beare me recorde, that with simplicitie dvertised you of a mortall danger; as this portion sub- shall prove.

LETTRE.

fluous and foolish it shall appeare to many, that I, a ase estat and condition, dare interprise to admonish a so honorable, indued with wisdome and graces singular. n I consider the honour which God commandeth to be Magistrates, which no doubt, if it be true honour, th in it selfe, in laufull thinges obedience, and in all love and reverence; when further I consider the

Exod. 20.
Rom. 13.
1 Petr. 2.

troublesome estat of Christes true religion, t
by blindnes of men; and last, the greate mult
and the rare nombre of them that boldlie
speake the naked veritie in presence of their
cipallie in the cause of Christ Jesus; thes
considered, what soever any man shall judge
I am compelled to say, that

The First Proposition.

Onles in your regiment, and in using of p
be found different from the multitude of
Rulers, that this pre-eminence wherin ye ar
your dejection to torment and payn everlasti
sition is sore, but, alas! it is so true, that
and hide it frome your Grace, I committed
against your Grace, then if I did se you by i
cuppe, which I knew to be poysonned or in
wolde not admonishe you to absteine from
same.

The Second Proposition.

John 4.
Apoc. 14 & 17.

The Religion which this day men defend
is a cuppe invenomed, of which whosoever
that by true repentance he after drinke of
drinketh therwith damnation and death.

How, and by whom, it hath bene invenon
more tedious to your Grace to read or heare,
to me to write or reherse, I would not spare
for this present, I have thoght it some disch
of my dutie, if I, of verie love, admonish
danger. Which I do, as God one day shall
your Graces salvation, and the salvation o
committed to your charge, to any corporall
redounde to my self.

ADDITION.

As Satan by craft hath corrupted the mos
of Goddes preceptes, I meane of the first Ta
the spirituall honoring of God, introducing

, and fantasies; so hath he, abusing the weaknes of
upted this precept of the second Table, touching the
hich is due to parents, under whom are comprehended
nd teachers; for now the Devill hath so blinded the
many, that they can not, or at the least, will not
at apperteineth to God and what to Cesar. But be-
Spirite of God hath said, "Honour the King," ther-
soever they commande, be it right or wrong, must be
But hevie shall the judgement be which shall appre-
h blasphemours of Goddes Majestie, who dare be so
to affirme that God hath commanded any creature to
l against himselfe. Against God it is, that for the
ement of any Prince, be he never so potent, men shall
dolatrie, embrace a religion which God hath not ap-
y his Word, or confirme by their silence wicked and
ous lawes, made against the honour of his Majestie.
ay, that so do, geve no true obedience; but as they
atas from God, so are they traitors to their princes,
y flatterie they confirme in rebelling against God.
ey which to the death resist such wicked lawes and
are acceptable to God, and faithfull to their Princes;
he Three children in the presence of Nabuchadnezer,
iel in the dayes of Darius, the Persian emperour,
nstant and free confession, as it glorified God, so did
aswell to those tyrannes, as to all ages following, the
sphemie, which in their rage and furie they committed
od; from the which, by all appearance, nether of both
lie shuld have been called, if the Three children hade
monge the rest, and Daniel had not declared the con-
f his faith, which was, with wyndoes open to praye
Jerusalem, manifestlie therebie declaring, that he did
ent to the blasphemouse lawe and decree which was
ed by the King and his counsell. Experience hath
s what surmises and blasphemies the adversaries of
esus, of his eternall veritie, do invent and devise against

Take hede of unlaufull Obedience.

Daniel 3.

Daniel 6.

such as beginne to detecte their impietie.
to be authors of sedition, raisers of tum
common orders, &c. I answer with the Pr
all is not reputed before God sedition and
the foolish multitude so estemeth;" nether
and breach of publike order contrarie to
ment. For Christ Jesus himselfe, commin
from the strong armed, who before did kep
nes, is not commen to send peace but a swo
man disassent from his father, &c. His Pr
and Apostles after him, feared not to bre
established against God, and in so doing, t
the one-half of peoples, nations, and cities
And yet I trust that none, except the hiere
will accuse Christ of sedition, nor his Apost
of common welthes. True it is, that the
cine most troubleth for a time the bodi
wicked and corrupted humours; but the ca
to be not in the medicine, but in the bodie
even so the true Word of God, when it en
Satan hath borne dominion, (as he still d
pistrie), can not but appeare to be occasio
But, Madame, more profitable it is that th
be expelled withe paine, then that they be
struction of the bodie. The Papistical r
pestilence, which shall assuredlie bring to
bodies and soules from the which it is not
And therefore take hede betimes; God callet
that ye shut not up your eares. Judge n
the vilitie[2] of my bodie, whom God hath app
and messager unto you; but with reverence
Him whose message I beare. I come to y
the eternall God, and of Christ Jesus his S
Father hath committed all power, whom h

Answer to an Objection.

Mat. 10.

Act. 14.

The Papistical religion a mortall pestilence.

[1] "Hole," whole.

[2] "V

Judge over all fleshe, before whose throne ye must
comptes with what reverence ye heare such as he send-
shall not excuse you to say or thinke, that ye doubt
I be sent of God or no. I crie unto you that the The Admonition.
which the Princes and blinded Papistes mainteine
and sworde, is not the religion of Christ; that your
'relates are none of Christes Bishoppes. I admonish
Christes flocke is oppressed by them; and therfore I
and that yet againe, in the name of the Lord Jesus,
indifferencie[1] I may be hard to preache, to reason,
lispute in that cause, whiche if ye denie, ye declare
to beare no reverence to Christ, nor love to his true

LETTRE.

thinke paradventure, that the care of religion is not Answer to an Objection.
d to Magistrates, but to the Bishoppes and Estat
ticall, as they terme it. But deceive not your selfe;
egligence of bishoppes shall no lesse be required of the
f magistrates, then shall the oppression of false judges:
injustlie promote, foster, and mainteine the one and
: The false and corrupt judge to spoile the goodes
ppresse the bodies of the simple, but the proude pre-
Kinges maintein to murther the soules, for the which
d of Christ Jesus was shed: and that they do, ether
olding frome them the true Word of life, or elles by
eache unto them a pestilent doctrine, such as now is
the Papisticall churches. I know that ye wonder,
the religion which is universalie received can be so
and corrupted. But if your Grace shall consider
from the beginning, the multitude hath declined from Gene. 6.
, even in the people to whom he spake by his Lawe Psal. 14.
hetes); if ye shall consider the complaint of the Holie
omplaining that nations, people, princes, and kinges Psalm 2.

[1] "Indifferencie," impartiality.

Act. 4. of the earth, have raged, made conspiracies,
sels against the Lorde, and against his anoin
further, if ye shall consider the question whic
Luc. 18. doth move in these wordes, "When the S
come, shall he finde faith in the earth?" a
Grace shall consider the manifest contempt c
his holie preceptes, which this day reigne wit
upon the face of the hole earth; for as Ho
Hose. 4. "There is no veritie, there is no mercie, there
day among men, but lies, perjurie, and opp
all, and blood toucheth blood," that is, everie i
to an other: yf depelie, I say, your Grace s
the universall corruption that this day reign
Mat. 20. then shall your Grace cease to wonder "that
Matth. 7. and fewe chosen;" and ye shall beginne to t
to followe the multitude to perdition.

2 Thes. 2. The universall defection, wherof S. Paule
easie to be espied, aswell in religion as in m
ruption of life is evident; and religion is not
sured by the plaine Word of God, but by cust
will, consent, and determination of men. B
hath pronounced all cogitations of mannes h
all times, accept the counsels and consents c
gion pleasing and acceptable before him? Le
be deceived: God can not lie, God can not
Deute. 4 & 12. He hath witnessed from the begynning, that n
him except that which He by his owne Word
and established. The Veritie it selfe pronoun
Mat. 15. "In vain do they worshippe me, teaching d
ceptes of men:" And also, "All plantation wh
Father hath not planted, shal be roted owt."
ming of his welbeloved Sonne in fleshe, seve
all such as durst interprise to alter or chaun
1 Reg. 13 & 15, 2 Par. 26. Levit. 10. and statutes, as in Saule, Usias,[1] Nadab, Abih

[1] Uzziah. [2] Nadab and Abihu, t

he now, after that he hath opened his counsell to the
his onlie Sonne, whom he commandeth to be hard, Mat. 17.
that by his Holie Spirit, speaking in his Apostles, he Act. 1, 2, & 3.
blished the religion in which he will his true worship- 1 Cor. 11. Coloss. 2.
e to the end; will he now, I say, admitte mennes in-
in the matter of religion which he reputed for dam-
latrie? Yf man and angels wold affirme that he will,
o it, his owne Veritie shall convicte them of a lie;
sentence he pronounceth: "Not that which seemeth Deut. 4 & 12.
thy eyes shalt thou do to the Lord thy God, but that
e Lord thy God hath commanded thee, that do thou:
thing unto it, diminishe nothing from it." Which,
p his Newe Testament, he repeteth in these wordes:
hich ye have, holde till I come," &c. And therfore Apoca. 2.
ne, it repenteth me not to say, that in this point,
chefe and principall, your Grace must disassent from
itude of rulers, or elles ye can possesse no portion with
esus in his kingdome and glorie.

ADDITION.

ing by what craft Satan laboreth continuallie to kepe
d in blindnes, I added these two former points, to witt,
shuld not thinke your selfe free from the Reformation
on, because ye have bishoppes within your realme;
et that ye shuld judge that Religion most perfect which
itude by wrong custome hath embraced. In these two
loth Satan busilie travaile. First, that no civil Magi- The craft of Satan.
esume to take cognition in the cause of Religion: for
st be deferred to the determinations of the Church.
rilie, that impossible it is, that that religion shuld be The ground of Papisticall religion.
ich so long time, so many Counsels, and so greate a
le of men of divers nations and realmes, have allowed,
ed, and confirmed. What is the dutie of Magistrates,
t power the People hath in such cases granted by God,

my purpose is to write in a severall[1] lettre to
Estates of the realme;[2] and therfore to avoy
repetition of one thing, I now supersede. An
second, if ye rightlie consider the testimo
which I have before adduced, I trust ye shall
tion sufficientlie answered. For if the opinio
oght alwayes to be preferred, then did God
ginall world. For they were all of one minde
Note. against God, except Noah and his familie.
of time shall be considered in such cases, th
the idolatrie of the Gentiles, but also the
Mahomet, be preferred to the Papistrie; for
the other is more auncient then is the Pa
yea, Mahomet had established his Alcoram b
Rome was crowned with a triple crowne.
Tertul. in Apologet. antiquitie, I am content with Tertullian to s
the most pure and perfect religion, which sha
auncient." For this is a chefe point, wherin I w
all the Papistes in the earth: that their relig
this day, is not of such antiquitie as is that
to be the true and onlie religion acceptable b
yet that their church is the Catholic church,
late dayes in respect of Christes institution,
vised by man, and therfore am bold to affir
The Chefe Proposition. abominable. For this is our chefe proposi
religion of God onlie oght his owne Word
that no authoritie of man nor angell oght i
respected. And as for their Counsels, when
come to triall, it shall be easelie seen for who
and most auncient Counsels shall most plainl
Nicen. 1. prove by a counsel, that of more authoritie i
one man, founded upon the simple truth of
determination of the hole Counsel without

[1] Separate, special.
[2] See *infra* his Appelation, also his Letter to the land.

Worde. But that all their determinations which we are not onlie mainteined without any assurance of es, but also are established against the truth of the a, and for the most part against the decrees of the ounsels, I offer my selfe evidentlie to prove.. But nowe to the rest of the former Lettre.

LETTRE.

ator, and Goddes messager also, justlie might requier nowe, by Goddes hand promoted to high dignitie, a e pitie upon your subjects; a justice inflexible to be inst murtherers and common oppressors; a hart voide ce and partialitie; a minde studious and carefull for nce of that realme and common welth above whom h placed you, and by it hath made you honourable, rest of vertues, which not onlie Goddes Scriptures, writers illuminated onlie with the light of nature, re- godlie rulers. But vayne it is to crave reformation of where religion is corrupted. For like as a man can e office of a man, till first he have a being and life; so workes pleasant in the sight of God the Father can do, without the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, which doth e in the hartes of idolaters.

The Dutie of Magistrates.

The Spirit of God abideth not with Idolaters.

herfore the most godlie princes, Josias, Ezechias, and , seking Goddes favor to rest upon them and upon ple, before all things began to reforme the religion. s as the stomak within the bodie, which, if it be cor- f necessitie it infecteth the hole masse: And therfore repete that, which to be done is most necessarie), if ce pretend to reigne with Christ Jesus, then it be- ou to take care of his true religion, which this day our realme is so deformed, that no part of Christes es remaine in their first strength and originall puritie. I praise God, to me is lesse difficill to prove then dan- o speake. And yet nether the one nor the other I

3 Reg. 15.
2 Par. 17.
4 Reg. 22.
2 Par. 34.
4 Reg. 18.
2 Par. 29, 30, & 31.

The Second Proposition.

feare; partlie because the love of life et
terrour of temporall death, and partlie bec
Paule, wish my selfe accursed from Christ
pleasure) for the salvation of my bretheren
your Grace, which thing, work, and verie
word or writing, shall witnesse and declar
the libertie of tonge but fortie dayes onlie

ADDITION.

Stob. ser. 12.

Nicepho. Callistus Histor. Eccles. lib. 10. cap. 42.

The wise and facund Democritus hade s
sentence: "That honest it was to comm
were worthie of praise, but to praise thi
could not procede but from a deceivable m
tius, a philosopher of great fame, seing th
Roman Emperour replenished with flatte
maners it may be espied, that more they w
and the purple then God;" signifying tha
whether the Emperour was godlie or un
might reteine them selves in favour wit
those were ethnikes,[1] and nether hade kn
pretend, nether had geven so playn a
them selves enemies to all iniquitie (as w
tisme, and by our hole profession of Chris
wordes damne no small nomber of us, and
conversant with princes. For who in t
judgeth him selfe to have offended, albeit
mainteine what soever the princes and
Yea, although it be to oppresse and to

Mich. 3.

pull from them their skinnes, and, as th
break their bones, and to cut them in pi
caldron or pot;" yet I say, that the Pri
judges to crie, it is right, it is for the comm
of the realme and ease of the subjectes.
times is even now such, as when the Pro

[1] "Ethnikes," heathens, pag

he Princes aske, and the judge is redie to geve, not his
the life and blood of the poore." Howe soon a greate
h spoken the corruption of his minde, he hath his flat-
edy to applaude and confirme whatsoever he speaketh.
the Princes be of what religion they please, that is all
he most part of men, so that with abnegation of God,
honour and religion, they may retein the frendshippe
Court. But, alas! howe miserable be Princes that so
ed, and howe contagious a pestilence be such flatterers
honwelthes, empires, and realmes, God hath declared
om the beginninge, to paynt owt the mischief which
em procedeth to such as geve eare unto them. The
t writers compare them to harlottes, to ravens, and to
venous beastes, and not without cause. For as har-
an never abide that their lovers shuld returne to repen-
nd sobernes of minde, so can not flatterers sustein that
they deceive shall come to right judgement. And as
pyke owt the eyes of dead carions, and as ravenous
devoure the same, so do flatterers (being more cruel)
the eyes of living men, and, blynding the eyes of their
anding and judgement, do expone them to be devoured
and soule to Satan. This we have by profane writers
ut the Holie Spirit taught us this infallible truth, that
niquitie reigneth in a commonwelth, and none is found
and openlie to reprehend the same, that there shall
vengeance and destruction followe. For thus it is writ-
l pronounced by the Prophet Ezechiel: "Shalt thou not
he citie of blood, which hath made idols? whose rulers
ood to the uttermost of their power; they have de-
my holie thinges, they have devised iniquitie, and have
med the same. The conjuration of Prophets hath
d up the riches, and whatsoever is precious within the
The priests violentlie have torne and rent my lawe.
ople of the land hath wroght deceitfullie: they have
ed the poore, and have done violence to the strangier

Flatterers are a contagious pestilence.

Ezech. 22.

Note.

without judgement, and I have sought
the hedge, and to stande in the gapp
founde none. Therfore have I poure
them, and in the fier of my hote displ
them." Advert, Madam, for these are
tall man, but of the eternall God, and
Jerusalem onlie, but against everie rea
offendeth. The synnes that here be na
avarice and crueltie in the Princes and
the Prophetes to defend the wicked;
lence in the common people; and, final
of all man, none being founde to repr
Wolde to God that I might with safe
you, your counsel, and the idolaters of
these crimes afore named. The idolat
is more evident then that it can be
crueltie, aswell of your selfe as of such
be knowen by the factes: for fame c
poore, oppressed by intolerable taxes,
a strange countrie, but, I am assured,
of hostes. The conspiracie and conjur
phetes is knowen to the world, and yet is
to God, nor mercifull to your Grace, th
admonish you, to repent before that God
ment. When I name repentance, I m
of holines, which commonlie is found
meane a true conversion to the Lord G
with a damning of all superstition and
have bene norished, which with your pr
and to your power mainteined and d
that this poyson be purged from your
life never so glistering before the world,
God it is but abominable. Yea, furt
this venome of the serpent (idolatrie I
hart, it is impossible but, at one time

Idolatrie is mother to all vice.

stilent fruites, albeit paradventure not openlie before
t before God no lesse odious then the factes of mur-
publicanes, and harlottes; and therfore in my former
saide, that superfluous it was to require Reformation
rs where the Religion is corrupted: Which yet againe I
to the end that your Grace more depelie may weye the
But nowe to the rest of the same my former Lettre.

LETTRE.

not ignorant howe dangerous a thing it appeareth to
rall man to innovate any thing in maters of religion:
tlie I consider, that your Grace's power is not so free as
e Reformation perchance wold requier. But if your
hall consider the danger, and damnation perpetuall,
evitablie hangeth upon all mainteiners of a false reli-
n shall the greatest danger easelie devour and swalowe
smaller. Yf your Grace shal consider, that ether ye Matth. 6. Rom. 8.
ve God to life everlasting, or elles serve the World to 3 Reg. 18.
d damnation; then, albeit that man and angell shuld
you, ye will chose life and refuse death. And if fur- John 17.
shall consider, that the verie life consisteth in the
ge of the onlie true God, and of his Son Christ Jesus;
t true knowledge hath annexed with it Goddes true
e and honour, whiche requireth a testimonie of his
expressed by his Word, that such honour doth please
these thinges afore said your Grace do earnestlie medi-
n albeit ye maye not do sodeinlie what ye wolde, yet
not cease to do what ye maye. Your Grace can not
abolishe superstition, and remove from offices unpro-
astoures, of whom speaketh Ezechiel the Prophete, Ezech. 34.
a publike reformation is requisite and necessarie.
e zele of Goddes glorie be fervent in your Graces hart,
ot by wicked lawes maintein idolatrie, nether will ye
furie of Bishoppes to murther and devoure the poore
of Christes bodie, as in times by past they have bene

accustomed; which thing, yf ether by blynd
or yet for pleasure of others within this re
Note. done, then, except you spedelie repent, ye a
shall sodeinlie fele the depressing hand of Hir
Daniel 2. you. Ye shall be compelled, will ye or not,
is eternall, against whome ye addresse the l
is He that moderateth the times and dis
ejecting from authoritie such as be inobe
1 Reg. 2. Job 12. Psal. 107. Daniel 2. others according to his good pleasure; that
fieth them that do glorifie hym, and poure
upon princes that rebell against his graces o

ADDITION.

In writing of this parcell, as I remembred
which might call you back from God and f
dience, so did I consider what occasion ye h
to feare before his Majestie, and to interpr
worldlie glorie for the promoting of the gl
consider that your power is but borowed, e
Note. unstable, for ye have it but by permission o
dom it is that Women do long reigne with
For as nature hath denyed to them a const
Esai. 3. government; so hath God pronounced, that th
to reigne over men, but in his wrath and i
most especiall frendes moreover, blynded by
worlde, yea, being dronken with the cuppe o
lot, are mortall ennemies to Christ Jesus, ar
gion. These thinges may easelie abashe the
not confirmed by grace; but yet if ye sha
with me the causes why that ye ought to
glorie of God in this behalfe, the former terr
vanishe. I do not esteme that thing grea

[1] Upon comparing this paragraph with the Letter as it appeared in 1556, (*supra*, p. 83), it will be seen that the Author has ma omitting as w words.

some others do, to wit, that if ye shall interprise to in-
any thing in maters of Religion, that then ye shall lose
thoritie, and also the favours of your carnall frendes:
further, to wit, to the judgementes of God, who hath
alredie to declare him selfe angrie with you, with your
d posteritie, yea, with the hole realme, above which it
ave ruled. Impute not to fortune, that first your two
were sodeinlie taken from you within the space of six
[1] and after, your husband[2] raft,[3] as it were, by violence, NOTE.
e and honour, the memoriall of his name, succession,
all dignitie perishing with him selfe. For albeit the
abuse, or rather tyrannie of some realmes, have per-
Women to succede to the honour of their fathers, yet
eir glorie be transferred to the house of a strangier.
I say, That with him selfe was buried his name, suc-
and royall dignitie; and in this, if ye espie not the
nd hote displeasure of God, (threatning you and the NOTE.
our posteritie with the same plague,) ye are more obsti-
en I wold wish you to be. I wold ye shuld ponder and
depelie with your self, that God useth not to punish
and nations with such rare plagues without greate
nether useth he to restore to honours and glorie the
hich he beginneth once to deject, till repentance of the
crimes be founde. Ye may parchance doubt what
shuld have bene in your husband, you, or the realme,
which God shuld so grevouslie have punished you. . I
The maintenance and defense of moste horrible idola-
h the shedding of the blood of the saintes of God, who
d to notifie and rebuke the same. This, I say, (other
es omitted) is such a crime before the eyes of his Ma-
at for the same he hath poured furth his extreme ven-
upon Kinges, and upon their posteritie, depriving them
onours and dignitie for ever: as by the histories of the
f the Kinges is most evident. To Jeroboam it is said,

0, see vol. i. p. 68. [2] Ib. p. 92. [3] "Raft," reft, snatched away.

1 Reg. 14. "Because I have exalted thee from th
and have made thee Prince over my p
the kingdom frome the house of Davi
have geven it unto thee; but thou has
servant, &c. But thou hast done wick
gone before thee. For thou hast mad
and molten images to provoke me, an
thy backe. Therfore shall I bring affl
Jeroboam, and I shall destroie to Je
against the wall, (signifying therbie t
shall cast furth the posteritie of Jer
furthe till it be consumed." This sent
cuted against this idolater, but also a
ters in that realme, as they succeeded
to Baasa, whom God used as instrumen
1 Reg. 16. Jeroboam, it is said, "Because thou ha
Jeroboam, and hast caused my people I
shuldest provoke me in their synnes: t
the posteritie of Baasa, and the posteri
make thy house as the house of Jerob
to Baasa in the citie, hym shall dogge
1 Reg. 16. 2 Reg. 10. 2 Reg. 17. die in the field, hym shall the fowles
cup, and for the same cause, dranke E
the posteritie of Jehu, following the f
fathers. By these examples you may
idolatrie is the cause why God destr
Princes. Not onlie of those that first i
also of suche as follow and defend the
dame, that God hath begonne verie sh
frome you, as it were togither, two ch
He hath begonne, I say, to declare hy
that ye provoke not the eyes of his M
the hawtie lokes of the proude, the st
nor multitude of men, that can justific
sence. Yf ye presume to rebell aga

e rebell yf ye denye my most humble request, which I
n his name, and it is this: With the hasard of myne
e, I offer to prove that religion which now ye mainteine,
alse, deceivable, and abomination before God: And that
do by most evident testimonies of his blessed, holie, and
le Word): Yf this, I say, ye deny, (rebelling against
he favour of your frendes shall litle availe you, when he
eclare hym selfe ennemy to you and to your posteritie;
assure your selfe, he shall shortlie do, if ye beginne to
the baner of your malice against hym. Let not the
itie of others, be they Princes, Quenes, Kinges, or Em-
, bolden you to contemne God and his loving admoni-
They shall drincke the cup of his wrath, everie one in
ank, as he hath appointed them. No realme in these
s, except it that next lieth to you, hath he so mani-
tricken with his terrible rod, as he hath done you and
alme; and therfore it becometh you first to stowp, ex-
t ye will have the threatninges pronounced by Isaie the
te ratified upon you; to wit, "That your sodeine destruc-
as the rotten wall, and your breaking as the breaking
sherd, which is broken without pitie; so that no portion
n be found able ether to carie fyer or water." Wher-
Prophete doth signifie, that the proude contemners of
d of his admonitions, shall so perishe from all honours,
ey shall have nothing worthie of memoriall behinde
the earth. Yea, yf they do leave any thing, as it shall
ofitable, so shall it be in execration and hatred to the
God. And therfore thus procedeth my former Lettre.

The offer of John Knox.

Advert.

Prosperitie for a time proveth not religion good.

No realme, England except, so grevouslie plaged as Scotland.

Isaie 30.

Isaie 14.

Isaie 6.

Lettre.

e dangerous that ever it shall appeare to the fleshe, to
d, and to make warre against the Devill, the Prince of
, pride, and superstition; yet if your Grace looke to
ur selfe and sede to continue in honour, worldlie and
ing, subject your selfe by times under the hand of Him

EXHORTATION. that is omnipotent: Embrace his will, desp
ment, refuse not his graces offred. When he
withdrawe not your care. Be not led aw
opinion, that your Church[1] can not erre. Be
lie persuaded, that so farre as in life ye see
frome Christes true Apostles, so in religion
Josue 1. corrupted. Lay the Boke of God before yo
be judge to that which I say; which if ye v
2 Par. 34. verence obey, as did Josias the admonitions o
2 Par. 1. then shall He (by whom Kinges do reigne) c
with double benediction, and reward you wit
glorie, honour, and long life in this your re
and with life everlasting, when the King of
membres nowe do crie for your helpe), the
appeare to judgement, accompanied with hi
whom ye shall make accompte of your prese
Apoca. 6. the proude and disobedient shall crie, "Mou
us, and hyde us frome the face of the Lord."
be too late, because they contemned his voice
called.

God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ
his Holie Spirit, move your hart so to consid
thinges that be said, that they be not a testi
condemnation, in that greate day of the Lo
omnipotent Spirit I unfeinedlie commit your

ADDITION.

When Jeremie the Prophet, at the comm
had writen the sermons, threatninges, and pla
Jerem. 36. spoken against Israel and Juda, and had co
be redde by Baruch his scribe, because him
municated and forbiden to entre in to the ter
dence of God, it came to passe, that Miche

[1] In the edit. 1556 (*supra*, p. 84), "your Church and Prelates." Some other alteration concluding par

hearing the said sermons, passed to the Kinges house,
communicate the mater with the rest of the Princes,
o after they hade redde the same volume of Jeremie's
ngs, did not concele the truth from King Jehoiakim,
n did reigne in Jerusalem. But the proude and despe-
ince, commanding the boke to be redde in his presence,
e had hard three or foure leaves of the same, did cut
ast it in to the fier, notwithstanding that some of the
(I thinke not all) made request in the contrarie. But
phet was charged by God to write againe, and to say
iakim the King, "Thus saieth the Lord, Thou hast
his boke, saying, Why hast thou writen in it according
sentence, Assuredlie the King of Babylon shall come,
ll destroye this land, and shall make it voide of men
stes. Therfore thus saieth the Lord of Jehoiakim the
here shall not be one left alive to sit in the seat of
Their carcases shall be cast to the heate of the daye,
the frost of the night, (wherbie the Prophet did signifie
te vile contempt and most cruell torment), and I shall
e iniquitie of him selfe, of his sede and servantes, and I
ring upon them, and upon the inhabiters of Jerusalem,
on all Juda, all the calamities which I have spoken
them. Albeit they wold not heare." This is not
Madame, for that time onlie, but to assure us, that the
nishement abideth the like contemners, of what estate,
on, or degree that ever they be. I did write unto you
having testimonie of a good conscience, that I did it in
re of my God, and by the motion of his Holie Spirit,
e request of faithfull brethren in thinges laufull and ap-
ing to Goddes glorie, I can not but judge to be the voice
Holie Ghost), but how ye did accept the same, my former
, I do not otherwise then by conjectures understand.
er ye did reade it to the end or not, I am uncerteine:
ng I knowe, that ye did delyver it to one of your pre-
aying, "My Lord, will ye reade a Pasquill?" As charitie

persuadeth me to interpret thinges (doubtfu
best sence, so my dutie to God (who hath
flatter no Prince in the earth) compelleth m
more ye esteme the admonition of God nor
the scoffing of Pasquilles, that then he shal
messagers[1] with whom ye shall not be able
jest. If my person be considered, I grant n
no more to be feared than be the merie sp
men do father upon Pasquillus in Rome.[2]
shall depelie consider, that God useth men (
monlie those that be of lowest degree, and
the world) to be his messagers and embassa
notifie his will to the simple people, but
most proude tyrannes and potent Princes
judge the liquour by the outward apparance
Amos 3. vessell. For ye are not ignorant, that the
inclosed within the tunne made of fraill w
most precious oyntment is often kept withi
claye. Yf further ye shall consider, that G
touching the punishment of realmes and nat
not revele to his servantes the Prophetes, w
Zacha. 1. compell to speake, sometimes contrarie to
desires of their own hartes: and whose worde
be they never so unapparant to the judge
these ye do depelie wey,[3] then will ye feare
James 5. presentlie is not seen. Elias was but a man
witnesse, like to his brethren; and yet at hi
1 Reg. 17. the idolater, and all Israell with him, puni
1 Reg. 18. and six monethes, God shutting up the he
rayne nor dewe fell upon the earth the
1 Reg. 19. And in the end, God so wrought by hym, th
were first confounded, and after justlie puni
that Jesabel sought his blood, and by othe h

[1] "Messagers," messengers.
[2] See note 2, p. 459.
[3] "Wey," w

et as she was frustrat of her intent, so could she not 2 Reg. 9.
owne bones from the dogges; whiche punishment the 1 Reg. 19.
e (God so ruling his tonge) had before appointed to
ked woman. Albeit, Madame, that the messagers of
not sent this day with visible miracles; because they
one other doctrine then that which is confirmed with
frome the beginning of the worlde; yet will not He,
h promised to take charge over his poore and litle
the end, suffer the contempt of their embassade[1] escape
ent and vengeance. For the Truth it selfe hath said,
at heareth you heareth me, and he that contemneth Mat. 10.
emneth me." I did not speake unto you, Madame, by
er Lettre, nether yet do I nowe, as Pasquillus[2] doth to
e and his carnall Cardinalles, in the behalf of such as
utter their names; but I come in the name of Christ
ffirming that the Religion which ye maintein is damn-
latrie; the which I offre my selfe to prove by the most
testimonies of Goddes Scriptures. And in this quarell
t my selfe against all the Papistes within the realme,

assade," embassy.

uillus," referring to a statue amed Pasquino. Pope Adixth, says Burton, translatssage from Paulus Jovius, highly offended and grievd with *Pasquillers* at Rome, ave command that Statue demolished and burned, flung into the river Tiber; done it forthwith, had not Suessanus, a facete comswaded him to the contrary, him that *Pasquil's* ashes rn into frogs in the bothe river, and croake worse r than before."—(Anatomy choly, p. 149, edit. 1632.) ned Selden, in his Table . "Libels," has remarked, some make slight of libels, yet you may see by them how the wind sits. . . . More solid things do not shew the complexion of the times so well as ballads and libels."—(Edit. by Dr Irving, p. 107, Edin. 1854.)

The mutilated statue of Pasquino still exists, at the corner of the Palazzo Bruschi, and possesses an historical interest. For several centuries, sarcastic and witty effusions, directed against the highest dignitaries in church and state, continued to be affixed to this statue of Pasquino, or Pasquillus. A similar statue, named Marforio, in the court of the Museum of the Capitol, was employed as his respondent, and many of their dialogues and defamatory verses have been preserved in the well-known work, "Pasquillorum Tomi duo," printed in 1544, and in other works.

desiringe none other armure but Goddes Holi
libertie of my tongue.

God move your hart to understand my p
the truth, and unfeinedlie to followe the same

AMEN.

REVELA. JOH. XXI.

"I am the beginning and the end. I will g
athirst of the well of the water of life
overcometh shall inherit all thinges; a
God, and he shalbe my sonne. But the f
leving, and the abominable, and murde
mongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, a
have their part in the lake whiche burn
brimstone; which is the seconde death."

THE

APPELLATION

ROM THE SENTENCE PRONOUNCED

BY THE BISHOPS AND CLERGY:

DDRESSED TO THE NOBILITY AND

ESTATES OF SCOTLAND.

M.D.LVIII.

: Knox's arrival in Scotland, in the end of autumn 1555, gnal success which attended his preaching in different of the country, and his administering the sacrament of rd's Supper, in private houses, to which many persons of tion resorted, alarmed the prelates, and instigated them ot some measures to check his progress. For this pur- e tells us, he was summoned to appear before their Con- n in the Church of the Black Friars, in Edinburgh,[1] on h of May 1556. Having resolved to comply with this ns, he came to Edinburgh accompanied by Erskine of nd other friends of the Reformation: "But that diet

order of the Dominicans or riars, called also *Fratres Pre-* the Preaching Friars, were to Scotland by Alexander nd. In 1230, he granted a conferring on them certain s, with a site for their con- the south side of Edinburgh; the street or vennel, which ins the name of the Black- Vynd, with power to erect r other buildings. To this there was a church annexed; , in 1275, Cardinal Bagimont d the Scottish clergy to ren- oath the value of their be- This ecclesiastical rental is wn as Bagimont's Roll. The surrounded with pleasant stood between the site of s known as the New High rebuilt in 1777), now con- to an hospital, and that of al Infirmary. The church itself probably escaped, but the monastery was burnt to the ground by a sudden fire which happened on the 25th of April 1528. It would otherwise, no doubt, have suffered from the burnings and ravages of the English troops during their invasions in 1544 and 1547. At the time of the Reformation, it is said to have been partially rebuilt. On the 16th March 1562-3, the Magistrates obtained from Queen Mary a grant of the monastery, with its revenues, &c., for the purpose of erecting on its site an hospital for the aged poor. But this purpose was so far dispensed with by the Regent Earl of Murray, who, on the 3d of January 1566-7, authorised the profits and rents to be appropriated for erecting and maintaining an hospital at the Trinity College, Leith Wynd.—(Maitland's Hist. of Edinb., p. 182.)

held not; for whether that the bishops perc
in their own proceedings, or if they feared
upon their extremity, it was (Knox adds) unk
the Saturday before the day appointed, they
summons; and the said John, the same day
taught[2] in Edinburgh, in a greater audience
he had done in that town."[3]

Knox had scarcely returned to Geneva, wl
ceedings were renewed by the Popish clergy;
to make his appearance before the Provincia
no doubt condemned as contumacious, and se
munication pronounced against him in his ab
mulgation of this Ecclesiastical sentence, w
graded him from his priest's orders, but sul
delivered to the Secular power for the puni
and his soul to damnation, his effigy, he ass
a practice not unusual, was ignominiously bu
of Edinburgh.

Of the proceedings in these Convocations
has been preserved, but the fact of his cond
putable. Upon receiving tidings of this cru
tence, he published his Appellation[4] address
and Estates of Scotland. In this elaborate
peal, he gives a summary of the doctrines
taught by him during his previous visit to hi
and which the Popish clergy had denounced
ceivable, and heretical." At the same time, h
to the Commonalty of Scotland dated 14th
is subjoined to the same treatise in the littl
at Geneva in 1558. A facsimile of the title-
on the next leaf.

[1] "Cast," set aside.
[2] "Taught," preached.
[3] See vol. i. p. 251.
[4] "Appellatio
for *appeal*, and
lish writers.

THE APPELLATION OF IOHN KNOXE FROM

the cruell and moſt iniuſt ſentence pronounced againſt him by the falſe biſhoppes and clergie of Scotland, with his ſupplication and exhortation to the nobilitie, eſtates, and cōmunaltie of the ſame realme.

✻

Printed at GENEVA,

M. D. LVIII.

In 12mo, sign. A to K in eights, nu
on 80 leaves, printed in Roman lette
Appellation ends on fol. 46. Then fol
Letter to the Commonalty of Scotla
fol. 59 is Gilby's Admonition to Engl
Scotland; on fol. 77, the Note by K
garding his Second Blast; and on
Kethe's version of the 94th Psalm.

NOBILITIE AND ESTATES OF SCOTLAND, JOHNE KNOXE
HETH GRACE, MERCIE, AND PEACE FROM GOD THE
THER OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, WITH THE SPIRIT OF
HTEOUS JUDGEMENT.

t only the love of life temporall (Right Honorable),
vet the fear of corporall death, that moveth me at this
to expone unto you the injuries done against me, and
of you, as of laufull powers by God appointed, redresse
me; but partly it procedeth from that reverence whiche
an oweth to Goddes eternal truth, and partly from a
ch I beare to your salvation, and to the salvation of my
abused in that realme by such as have no fear of God
eir eyes. It hath pleased God, of his infinite mercie,
so to illuminate the eyes of my minde, and so to tuche
hart, that clearly I see, and by his grace unfeanedly be-
at there is no other name geven to men under the
n whiche salvation consisteth, save the name of Jesus
Who, by that sacrifice which he did once offer upon the
hath sanctified for ever those that shall enherite the
promised:" But also it hath pleased him of his super-
nt grace, to make and appointe me, most wretched of
ousandes, a witnes, minister, and preacher of the same
the somme whereof I did not spare to communicate
brethren, being with them in the realme of Scotland,
eare 1556, because I know myselfe to be a steward,

Every man ought to confesse and reverence Goddes trueth.

Act. 4.

Hebr. 10.

1 Cor 3.
Mat. 25.

and that accompts of the talent committed to n
required by Him who will admit no vaine excu
men pretend. I did therefore, as God did
the tyme I was conversant with them (God is
nesse), truely and syncerly, according to the g
me, devide the worde of salvation, teaching
syn, whiche before God was and is so odious,
sacrifice coulde satisfie his justice except the d
Sonne; and to magnifie the greate mercies of
ther, who did not spare the Substance of his
did give hym to the world to suffer the ignom
death of the Crosse, by that meanes to reco
children to hymselfe: teaching further what
such as do beleve them selves purged by such a
former filthines: To wit, that they are bound
newnes of life, fighting against the lustes of
studyinge at all tymes to glorifie God by such
he hath prepared his children to walke in.

John 3.
Rom. 5, 8.
2 Cor. 5.

Rom. 6.
Ephe. 4, 5.

Ephe. 2.

In doctrine I did further affirme, so taug
Christ Jesus, "that whosoever denieth hym, y
of hym, before this wicked generation; hym s
denie, and of hym shall he be ashamed, when
in his Majestie." And therefore I feared no
of necessitie it is, that suche as hope for life e
all superstition, vaine religion, and idolatrie
and idolatrie I call whatsoever is done in G
honour, without the expresse commaundem
Worde.

Mat. 10.

Vaine religion or idolatrie.

This doctrine did I beleve to be so confor
holie Scriptures, that I thought no creature co
impudent as to have damned any point or art
Yet neverthelesse, me, as an heritike, and this
ticall, have your fals Bishoppes and ungodlie
pronouncing against me a Sentence of death
wherof they have burned a Picture. From

A Sentence Pronunced.

entence, and from all judgement of that wicked genera- APPELLATION FROM THE SAME.
nake it knowen to your Honours, that I Appeal to a lau-
generall Council;[1] to suche, I mean, as the most auncient
nd canones do approve to be holden; by suche as whose
t impietie is not to be reformed in the same, most hum- THE REQUEST OF JOHN KNOX.
iring of your Honours, that, as God hath appointed you
in that people, and, by reason therof, requireth of your
the defence of innocentes troubled in your dominion, in
ne tyme, and till the controversies that this day be in
n be laufully decided, ye receave me, and suche others as
njustlie by those cruell beastes are persecuted, in your
and protection.

Honours are not ignorant, that it is not I alone who
stain this cause against the pestilent generation of Pa-
but that the most part of Germanie, the countrie of THE PETITION OF PROTESTANTS.
a, the Kinge of Denmarke, the Nobilitie of Polonia,
with many other cities and churches reformed, Appeall
ne tyrannie of that Antichrist, and most earnestly do
a laufull and general Council, wherin may all controver-
Religion be decided by the auctoritie of Goddes most
Worde. And unto this same, as said is, do I Appeal
e againe, requiring of your Honours to hold my simple
yn Appellation of no lesse value nor effect, then if it had
ade with greater circumstance, solemnitie, and ceremo-
d that ye receave me callinge unto you, as to the powers
ordained, in your protection and defence against the
tyrantes, not to mentaine me in any iniquitie, errour,
opinion, but to let me have such equitie as God by his
auncient Lawes, and determinations of most godlie
s, graunte to men accused or infamed.

Word of God will that no man shall die, except he be Deut. 17.
riminall and worthie of death for offence committed; of
che he must be manifestly convicted by two or three
es. Ancient Lawes do permitt just defences to such as

[1] In the orig., *Council* is usually printed *Counsil*.

be accused, (be their crimes never so horrible
cilles will, that nether byshopp nor person e
soever, accused of any crime, shall sit in ju
tion, or counsil, where the cause of such men
is to be tried.

THE PETITION OF JOHN KNOXE.

These thinges require I of your Honours t
me: to wit, that the doctrine which our ad
for heresie may be tried by the simple and p
that just defenses be admitted to us that s
against this pestilent generation of Antichr
be removed from judgement in our cause,
cusation is not intended against any one par

NOTE WELL.

against that hole kingdome, whiche we dou
be a power usurped against God, against hi
and against the ordenance of Christ Jesus
church by his chefe Apostles: Yea, we doul
kingdome of the Pope to be the kingdome a
christ. And therefore, my Lordes, I can not
of Christ Jesus, to require of you that the
in examination; and that ye, the Estates of t
auctoritie, compell such as will be called Bis
desist from their cruell murthering of such a
mote Goddes glorie in detecting and disclo
impietie of that man of syn the Romane A
that ye compell them to answer to suche crim
to their charge, for not righteously instruct
mitted to their cares.

Answer.

But here I know two thinges shalbe doub

1. To Objections.

Whether that my Appellation is lawfull an
seing that I am damned as an heritike: and
ther your Honours be bound to defend suc
support in that case, seing that your Bishopp
of religion claime all auctoritie to appertain
their sentence allredy condemned me. The
I nothing doubt most clerely to prove: Fyr

is most lawfull and just: and secondarely, that your
's can not refuse to defend me thus calling for your aid,
t in so doing, ye declare yourselves rebellious to God, NOTE.
ners of murtherers, and shedders of innocent blood.

just cause I have by the Civile law (as for their Canon, THE APPELLATION IS JUST AND LAWFULL.
coursed of God) to appeale from their unjust sentence,
pose is not to make long discourse. Onlie I will touche
ntes which all men confesse to be just causes of Appel-

t, Laufully could I not be sommoned by them, being for
me absent from their jurisdiction, charged with the
ng of Christes Evangill in a free citie not subject to
rannie.

ndarely, To me was no intimation made of their som-
, but so secrete was their surmised malice, that the
f the sommondes being required was denyed.

dlie, To the realme of Scotland could I have had no free
e accesse, being before exiled from the same by their
tyrannie.

last, To me they nether could nor can be competent and
ent judges; for that, before any sommondes were raised
me, I had accused them by my lettres published to the
Dowagier, and had intended against them all crimes,
my selfe, with hasard of life, to prove the same; for the
hey are not onlie unworthie of ecclesiasticall auctoritie,
o of any sufferance within a communewelthe professing
This my accusation preceding their sommondes, nei-
the law of God, neither yet by the law of man, can they
e competent judges, till place be granted unto me open-
rove my accusation intended against them, and they be
led to make answer as criminalls. For I will plainelie
that not onlie Bishoppes, but also Popes, have been re-
from all auctoritie, and pronouncing of judgement, till
ve purged themselves of accusations layd against them.
rther I will prove, that Bishoppes and Popes most

justly have bene deprived from all honours an
for smaller crimes then I have to charge the
bishoppes.

Goddes messingers may appeal from unjust sentences, and Civile powers are bound to admit them.

But because this is not my chefe grounde
tent for this present to shew, that lawfull it
phetes, and to preachers of Christ Jesus, to
sentence and judgement of the visible Church
of the temporall Magistrate, who by Goddes
hear their causes, and to defend them from ty

Jer. 26.

The Prophete Jeremie was commanded by
the courte of the house of the Lord, and to p
in effect, That Jerusalem should be distroyed
in opprobrie to all nations of the earth; a
famous Temple of God should be made desola
because the preestes, the prophetes, and th
walk in the Law which God had proposed u
wold they obey the voyces of the prophetes w
call them to repentance.

For this sermon was Jeremie apprehended
of death was pronounced against hym, and tha
by the prophetes, and by the people; whi
bruted in the eares of the Princes of Juda, th
the Kinges house to the temple of the Lord,
judgement, for further knowledge of the cause.
and prophetes continued in theyre cruell sent
they had pronounced, saying, "This man i
death; for he hath prophesied against this ci
have hard." But Jeremy, so moved by the H
this defence against that their tyrannous
wordes: "The Lord (saith he) hath sent
against this house, and against this citie, all
you have hard. Now therefore make good
hear the voyce of the Lord your God, and th
of the evill whiche he hath spoken against
behold I am in your handes (so doth he spea

Advert.

me as you think good and righteous. Nevertheles know
is most assuredly, that if ye murther or sley me, ye shall
yourselves, this citie, and the inhabitants of the same,
all, and gyltie of innocent blood. For of a trueth the
hath sent me to speak in your eares all those wordes."
n the princes and the people (saieth the text) said, "This
s not worthie of death, for he hath spoken to us in the
of the Lord our God." And so after somme contention
he Prophete delivered from that danger. This fact and
ie manefestly proveth whatsoever before I have affirmed,
, that it is laufull for the servantes of God to call for the
f the Civile Magistrate against the sentence of death, if
unjust, by whome soever it be pronounced, and also that
ivile sword hath power to represse the furie of the preests,
o absolve whome thei have condemned. For the Pro-
of God was damned by those who then only in earthe
knowen to be the visible Churche, to wit, preests and
etes who then were in Jerusalem, the successours of
, to whome was geven a charge to speak to the people in
ame of God, and a precept geven to the people to heare
awe from their mouthes, to the which if any should be
ious or inobedient he should die the death without mer-
These men, I say, thus auctorised by God, first did ex-
unicat Jeremie, for that he did preache otherwise then
e commune sort of prophetes in Jerusalem, and last ap-
nded him, as you have hard, pronouncing against hym this
nce afore writen; from the which nevertheles the Prophete
led, that is, sought help and defence against the same,
hat most earnestly did he crave of the Princes. For al-
e saieth, "I am in your handes, do with me as ye think
eous," he doth not contemne nor neglect his life, as thoghe
garded not what should become of hym; but in those his
es most vehementlie did he admonishe the Princes and
s of the people, geving them to understand what God
d require of them. As he should say, You Princes of

The Princes did absolve the Prophet whome the Preests had condemned.

Deute. 17.

The meanyng of these wordes, "I am in your hands," &c. Deut. 17. Jerem. 1. Deu. 1, 10.

Juda, and Rulers of the people, to whom app
entlie to judge betwixt partie and partie, to
man, and to condemne the malefactour, you
tence of death pronounced against me by t
oght to speak no decept, because they are
pointed by God hymselfe to speake his law
judgement with equitie; but as they have le
and have taught the people to follow vaniti
commed mortall ennemies to all Gods true se
I am one, rebuking theire iniquitie, apostas
from God, which is the onlie cause they sek
thing most contrarie to all equitie, law, and j
a man sent of God to call them, this people,
the true service of God, from the which you
shall suffer the death, because that my en
nounce sentence. I stand in your presence,
made Princes, your power is above their tyr
do I expone my cause, I am in your handes,
to suffer what ye think just. But lest that n
tience should either make you negligent in t
in my just cause, appealing to your judgeme
corrage my ennemies in seakinge my blood,
dar not conceale:[1] That if you murther me (
if ye defend me not), ye make not only my enn
blood, but also yourselves, and this hole citie.
I say, it is evident that the Prophete of God
death, by the preestes and by the prophet
Churche, did seke aid, support, and defence a
Temporall Magistrates, threatnyng his blood
theyre handes, if they by theyre auctoritie di
from the furie of his ennemies: alledging also
Appellation, and why he oght to have bene
that he was sent of God to rebuke theire vi
from God; that he taught no doctrine which

The causes of his Appellation, and why he oght to have bene defended.

[1] In the orig. "consile."

ronounced in his Law; that he desired theyre conversion
d, continuallie calling upon them to walk in the wayes
. God had approved, and therefore doth he boldlie crave
Princes, as of Goddes lieutenantes, to be defended from
lynd rage and tyrannie of the Preests, notwithstanding
they claimed to themselves auctoritie to judge in all mat-
f Religion. And the same did he what tyme he was cast
son, and thereafter was brought to the presence of King
hias. After, I say, that he had defended his innocencie,
yng that he neither had offended against the King, against
rvantes, nor against the people, at last he made inter- Jerem. 38.
n to the King for his life, saying,
ut now, my Lord the King, take hede, I beseche thee, let
ayer fall in to thy presence, commaund me not to be
again in to the house of Jonathan the scribe, that I
ot there."
d the text witnesseth that the King commaunded the
of his imprysonment to be chaunged. Whereof it is evi-
that the Prophet did ofter then once seke help at the
power; and that fyrst the Princes, and there after the
did acknowledge, that it appertained to their office to
r him from the unjust sentence which was pronounced
t him. Yf any thinke that Jeremie did not appeall, be-
e onely declared the wronge done unto him, and did but
defence, according to his innocencie; let the same man
stand, that none otherwise do I appeale from that fals
ruell sentence which your Byshoppes have pronounced
t me. Neither yet can there be any other just cause of Just cause of Appellation.
ation but innocencie hurt, or suspected to be hurt, whe-
t be by ignorance of a judge, or by malice and corruption
se who, under the title of justice, do exercise tyrannie.
were a thefe, murtherer, blasphemer, open adulterer, or
fender, whome God's Worde commaundeth to suffer for a
committed, my Appellation were vaine, and to be rejected;
being innocent, yea, the doctrine which your Byshoppes

have condemned in me being God's eternall
lesse libertie to crave your defence against th
had the Prophet Jeremie to seke the ayde of
Act. 22, 23, 24, & 25. King of Juda. But this shall more plainly ap
of Sainct Paule, who, after that he was appr
salem, did fyrst claime to the libertie of Rom
avoiding torment, what tyme that the Captay
amined hym by questions; there after in the
no righteous judgement was to be hoped for,
he was a Pharisie, and that he was accused of[1]
of the dead; and last, in the presence of Fe
from all knowledge and judgement of the Pr
lem to the Emperour: of which last point,
chefelie appertaine to this my cause, I will so

After that Paule had diverse tymes bene a
Acts of the Apostles is manifest, at the last th
and theyre faction came to Cesarea, with Fest
who presented to them Paule in judgement,
cused of horrible crimes; which nevertheles
prove, the Apostle defending, That he had not
against the Law, neither against the Tem
against the Emperour.

Act. 25. But Festus, willing to gratifie the Jewes,
"Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be
thinges in my presence? But Paule said, I sta
seat of the Emperour, where it behoveth me
have done no injurie to the Jewes, as thou bett
I have done any thing unjustly, or yet comm
thie of death, I refuse not to die. But if the
these thinges true whereof they accuse me, n
me to them: I appeall to Cesar."

It may appear at the first sight, that Paule
to Festus the judge, and to the hole order of
who did hope greater equitie in a cruell tyrant,

[1] The word *preaching* or *maintaining*, seems to be

and learned companie. Which thinge no doubt Festus
nderstand, pronouncing these wordes, "Hast thou ap-
to Cesar? Thou shalt go to Cesar." As he would say, I
an willing to understand the truth, before I pronounce
ce, have required of thee to go to Jerusalem, where the
d of thyne owne nation may heare thy cause, and decerne
same. The controversie standith in matters of religion:
art accused as an apostatat from the law, as a violator of
nple, and transgressor of the traditions of theyre fathers,
ch matters I am ignorant; and therefore desire informa-
y those that be learned in the same religion whereof the
on is. And yet doest thou refuse so many godly fathers
r thy cause, and doest appeale to the Emperour, prefer-
ym to all our judgements, of no purpose belike but to
tyme. Thus, I say, it myght have appeared that Paule
ot only injurie to the judge and to the preestes, but also
is cause was greatly to be suspected; partly for that he
efuse the judgement of those that had moste knowledge
men supposed) of Gods will and religion; and partly be-
he appealed to the Emperour, who then was at Rome,
bsent from Jerusalem, a man also ignorant of God and
ie to all vertue. But the Apostle, considering the nature
ennemies, and what thinges they had intended against
even from the fyrst day that he began freelie to speak in
ame of Christ, did not fear to appeale from them, and
the judge that would have gratified them. They had
sed themselves plain ennemies to Christ Jesus, and to his
d Evangill, and had soght the death of Paule, yea, even
tions and treasonable conspiracie; and therefore by no
es would he admit them either judges in his cause, either
ours of the same, as Festus required; but grounding him
upon strong reasons, to wit, that he had not offended the
, neither yet the Law, but that he was innocent; and
fore that no judge oght to geve hym in the handes of his
nies: Grounding, I say, his Appellation upon these rea-

Why Paule wold admytt none of the Leviticall ordre to judge in his cause.

Upon what reasons the Appellation of Paule was grounded.

sons, he neither regarded the displeasure of Fes
the brute of the ignorant multitude; but bol
from all cognition of them, to the judgement o
as said is. By these two examples, I dout not bu
do understand, that lawfull it is to the servan
pressed by tyrannie, to seke remedie against th
appellation from theire sentence, or by implori
Civile Magistrates. For what God hath appr
and Paul, he can condemne in none that likewi
I might alledge some histories of the primative
to the same purpose: as of Ambrose and Atha
the one would not be judged but at Millan, wh
trine was hard of all his Church, and receave
by many; and the other would in no wise gev
councils, where he knew that men conspired ag
of God should sit in judgement and consulta
cause the Scriptures of God are my only fund
ance, in all matters of weight and importance,
the two former testimonies sufficient, aswell to
lation reasonable and just, as to declare to you
with safe conscience ye can not refuse to admit
any thinke it arrogancie or foolishnes in me
selfe with Jeremie and Paule, let the same m
that as God is immutable, so is the veritie of hi
gill of equall dignitie, whensoever it is impugn
bres suffering never so weak. What I think
owne person, God shall reveale when the secre
shall be disclosed; and such as with whome I
versant can partly witnesse what arrogancie
espie in me. But touching the doctrine and c
adulterous and pestilent generation of Antic
(who wilbe called Byshoppes amongst you) hav
me, I neither fear nor shame to confesse an
man and Angell, to be the Eternall trueth of th
And in that case, I dout not to compare my

The cause is to be regarded, and not the person.

re in whome the trueth hath bene impugned sence the
ayng. For as it was the trueth which Jeremie did
in these wordes:

e Preestes have not knowen me (saieth the Lord), but Jerem. 2.
stors have traiterously declined and fallen back from me.
rophetes have prophesied in Baal, and have gone after Jerem. 1.
things which can not helpe. My people have left the
e of living waters, and have digged to themselves pits
can containe no water."

it was a trueth that the pastors and watchmen, in the Esa. 56.
of Isaie, were becomed domme dogs, blynd, ignorant,
and avaricious. And finally, as it was a trueth that the Act. 3 & 4.
s and the Preestes were murtherers of Christ Jesus, and
persecutors of his Apostles; so likewyse it is a trueth
hat moste infallible), that those that have condemned
e hole rable of the Papisticall clergie) have declyned
he true faith, have geven eare to deceavable spirits and Tim. 4.
rine of devils; are the sterres fallen from the heaven to
th; are fontaines without water; and finally are enne- Jude 1. 2 Pet. 3.
Christ Jesus, deniers of his vertue,[1] and horrible blas-
urs of his death and passion. And further, as that visi-
urche had no crime whereof justly they could accuse
the Prophetes, either the Apostles, except theyr doctrine
so have not such as seke my blood other crime to lay to Let the cause be noted.
rge, except that I affirm, as alwais I offer to prove, that
ligion which now is maintained by fier and sword is no
ontrarious to the true religion taught and established by
ostles, then is darknes to light, or the Devill to God;
o, that such as now do claime the title and name of the
e ar no more the elect spouse of Christ Jesus, then was
nagoge of the Jewes the true Church of God, what tyme
fied Christ Jesus, damned his doctrine, and persecuted
ostles. And therefore seing that my battail is against
ude and cruell hypocrites of this age, as that battail of

[1] "Vertue," evidently a misprint for *verity*.

those most excellent instrumentes was agai
phetes and malignant Church of theyr ages; n
man think it strange, that I compare my self
whome I sustaine a common cause; neither
Lordes, judge your selves lesse addetted and b
ing for your support, then did the Princes of
selves bounde to Jeremie, whome for that tym
notwithstanding the sentence of death pronou
by the visible Church. And thus much for
Appellation, which in the bowelles of Christ Je
Honours not to esteme as a thing superfluou
that ye admitt it, and also accept me in you
defence, that by you assured I may have acce
countrie, which I never offended; to the end,
openly, in the presence of the hole realme, I m
fession of all such pointes as this day be in c

Answer to an objection or dout.

also that you, by your auctoritie which ye have
such as of long tyme have blynded and dece
selves and the people, to answer to such thing
to theire charge. But lest that somme dout
require more of you then you of conscience ar
in few wordes, I hope to prove my petition to

The Petition of John Knoxe.

out God's heavy displeasure ye can not deny.
That ye whome God hath appointed heades i
welth, with single eye do studie to promote th
to provide that your subjects be rightly instru
religion; that they be defended from all oppress
that true teachers may be maintained, and suc
deceave the people, togyther also with all idle
robbe and oppresse the flock, may be removed
God's Law prescribeth. And to the performan
these do your offices and names, the honours and
ye receve, the Law of God universally geven to
examples of moste godlie princes, bynde and o

My purpose is not greatly to labour to prov

oght to be to promote the glorie of God; neither yet studie to alledge all reasons, that justly may be broght ve, that ye are not exalted to reigne above your brethren, n without care and solicitude. For these be principals ıfted in nature, that verie Ethnicks have confessed the

For seing that God only hath placed you in his chaire, appointed you to be his lieutenantes, and by his owne hath marked you to be Magistrates, and to rule above orethren, to whom nature, nevertheles, hath made you lyke points, (for in conception, birth, life, and death, ye differ ng from the commune sort of men, but God only, as said th promoted you, and of his especial favour hath geven you this prerogative to be called Gods); how horrible inude were it then, that you should be founde unfaithful to that thus hath honored you? And further, what a monvere it, that you should be proved unmerciful to them whome ye are appointed to reigne, as fathers above theyre en? Because I say, that verie Ethnicks have granted, that heefe and fyrst care of Princes, and of such as be ap-ed to rule above others, oght to be to promote the glorie ıonour of theyr goddes, and to maintaine that religion e they supposed to have bene true. And that theyre d care was to maintaine and defend the subjects comd to theyre charge in all equitie and justice. I will not r to shew unto you what oght to be your studie in mainng God's true honour, lest that in so doing I should seme ke you lesse careful over God's true religion, then were thnickes over theire idolatrie. But because other peti- may appere more hard and difficile to be granted, I purbrefely, but yet freely, to speak what God by his Worde assure me to be true: To wit, fyrst, That in conscience you ounde to punysh malefactors, and to defende innocents, ringe your helpe. Secondarely, That God requireth of you ovide, that your subjects be rightly instructed in his true on; and that the same by you be reformed whensoever

The singular honours which Magistrates receive of God oght to move them with all diligence to promote his Religion.

The Dueties of Magistrates.

abuses do crepe in, by malice of Satan, and ne
And laste, That ye are bounde to remove from
punish with death (if the crime so require) suc
people, or defraude them of that foode of theyre
God's lively Worde.

The fyrst and seconde are moste playne, b
S. Paule, thus speaking of lawfull powers:

Rom. 13. "Let everie soule (saieth he) submit hym
hygher powers. For there is no power but of G
that be are ordained of God. Whosoever th
the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and
shall receave to themselves damnation. For ru
feared of those that do well, but of those that
thou then be without fear of the power? do tha
and so shalt thou be praised of the same: for
ter of God for thy welth. But if thou do tha
fear: for he beareth not the sword for noght
minister of God, to take vengance on them tha

As the Apostle in these wordes moste strayt
obedience to be geven to lawfull powers, pro
wrathe and vengance against such as shall resist
of God; so dothe he assigne to the powers they
be to take vengeance upon evil doers, to mai
doers, and so to ministre and rule in theyr offic
jectes by them may have a benefite, and be pra
ing. Now, if you be powers ordeined by God (a
all men will graunte), then, by the plaine wordes
is the sworde geven unto you by God, for mai
innocent, and for punyshement of malefactors.
brethren with me accused do offre not only to p
innocents in all thinges laid to our charge, but als
evidently to prove your Byshoppes to be the w
who have infected all Christianitie. And the
plaine doctrine of the Apostle, you ar bounde to
and to punysh the other, being evidently conv

. Moreover, the former words of the Apostle do
w far hie powers be bounde to theyre subjects: to wit,
ause they are God's ministers, by him ordained for the
d utilitie of others, most diligently oght they to intend
same. For that cause assigned the Holie Ghost,
ding subjects to obey and pay tribute; saying, "For
ou pay tribute and toll:"

In what pointes be Powers bounde to theyre subjectes.

Rom. 13.

, because they are God's ministers, bearing the sworde
utility. Wherof it is plaine, that there is no honour
charge annexed. And this one point I wishe your
s depely to consider, that God hath not placed you
ur brethren to reigne as tyrantes without respect of
rofitt and commoditie. You heare the Holie Ghost
the contrarie, affirmyng, that all lawfull powers be
nisters, ordened for the welth, profitt, and salvation
ubjects, and not for theyre destruction. Could it be
esech you) that Magistrates, inclosing theyre subjects
without all victuales, or geving unto them no other
but such as were poisoned, did rule for the profitt of
jectes? I trust that none would be so foolishe as so
; but that rather everie discrete person would boldly
at such as so did were tyrantes unworthie of all regi-
If we will not deny that whiche Christ Jesus affirmeth
rueth infallible; to wit, that the soule is greater and
tious then is the bodie: then shall we easely espye, how
e of auctoritie be those that this day debarre theyre
from the hearing of God's Worde, and by fier and
ompell them to feede upon the verie poison of theyre
e damnable doctrine of Antichrist. And therefore in
t, I say, I can not cease to admonish your Honours,
to take heede over your charge, which is greater then
parte of men suppose. It is not ynough that you ab-
om violent wrong and oppression, which ungodlie men
against theyr subjectes; but ye are further bounde, to
ye rule above them for theyre welth; which ye can

Let the similitude be noted.

It is not inough that Rulars oppresse not theyre subjects.

not do, if that ye either by negligence, not pro
tors, or yet by your maintainance of such as be
suffer theyre soules to sterve and perishe, for
foode, which is Christes Evangill syncerely pr
not excuse you in his presence, who will requ
everie talent committed to your charge, to say,
that the charge of the soules had bene con
Byshoppes. No, no, my Lordes, so ye cannot esc
ment. For if your Byshoppes be proved to b
but deceavable theves and ravenyng wolves, (
selfe to prove by God's Word, by Law and Cou
judgement of all the godly learned from the p
to this day), then shall your permission and de
reputed before God, a participation with theyre
ther. For thus accused the Prophete Esaie
Jerusalem: "Thy Princes," saith he, "ar apo
obstinat refusers of God, "and they ar compa

THE OFFER OF JOHN KNOX, AND HIS ACCUSATION INTENDED AGAINST THE PAPISTICAL BYSSHOPPES.

Esaie 1.

This grevous accusation was laid against t
they ruled in that citie which sometyme was ca
then were the Temple, rites, and ordonances
that not onlie they were wicked themselves,
cause they maintained wicked men theyr prees
phetes in honours and auctoritie. Yf they di
accusation of the Holie Ghost in that age, lo
escape the accusation nor the judgement whi
against the maintainars of wicked men; to
and the other shall drinck the cuppe of God's
gance togither. And lest ye should deceave y
ing your Byshoppes to be vertuous and godlie,
and offer myself to prove the same, that more
be the hole rabble of your clergie, were never
ning universally knowen in any age; yea, Sodo
may be justified in theyre respect. For the
Lot to dwell amongest them without any vio
bodie, which that pestilent generation of your

Jerem. 23 & 27. Ezech. 13. Hosa 4.

but moste cruelly persecute by fier and sworde the true
ıbers of Christes bodie, for no other cause but for the true
ice and honoring of God. And therefore I fear not to
me, that which God shall one day justifie, that by your
es ye be bound, not only to represse theyr tyrannie, but
to punishe them as theves and murtherers, as idolators
blasphemers of God, and in their roumes ye are bounde to
e true preachers of Christ's Evangile, for the instruction,
fort, and salvation of your subjectes, above whome els shall
r the Holy Ghost acknowledge that you rule in justice for
r proffit. Yf yee pretend to possesse the kingdome with
ist Jesus, yee may not take example neither by the ignor-
multitude of Princes, neither by the ungodly and cruell
rs of the earth, of whome some passe theyre tyme in
th, insolencie, and ryote, without respect had to Goddes
ɔur, or to the salvation of theyre brethren, and other moste
lly oppresse, with proude Nimrod, such as be subject to
n. But your pattern and example must be the practise of
e whome God hath approved by the testimonie of his
rde, as after shalbe declared.

NOTE. Yf Powers provide not for instruction of theyre Subjects, they do never rule above them for theyre profit.

f the premisses it is evident, that to lawfull powers is geven
sworde for punyshement of malefactors, for maintenance of
cents, and for the profitt and utilitie of theyr subjects.
let us consider, whether the reformation of religion fallen
ecay, and punyshment of false teachers, do appertaine to
Civile Magistrate and Nobilitie of any realme. I am not
rant that Satan of old tyme, for mentainance of his dark-
hath obtained of the blynd world two chefe points. For-
, he hath persuaded to Princes, Rulers, and Magistrates,
the feeding of Christes flock appertaineth nothing to theyre
rge, but that it is rejected[1] upon the Byshoppes and estate
esiasticall: and secondarelie, that the reformation of reli-
, be it never so corrupt, and the punishement of such as be
rne souldiers in theyre kingdome, are exempted from all

What Satan hath obtained of the blind world.

[1] "Rejected," devolved.

civile power, and are reserved to themselves and to
cognition. But that no offender can justly be exe
punyshement, and that the ordering and reformatio
with the instruction of subjects, doth especially a
the Civile Magistrate, shall Goddes perfect ord
plaine Worde, and the facts and examples of those
are highly praised, most evidently declare.

The matters and reformation of Religion appertaine to the care of the Civile Power. Exod. 21, 24, 25.

When God did establish his Law, statutes, and
in the middest of Israel, he did not exempt the ma
gion from the power of Moses; but as he gave hym
the civile politie, so he put in his mouth and in his
is, he fyrst revealed to hym, and thereafter commau
in practise whatsoever was to be taught or done i
religion. Nothing did God reveale particularly to
altogither was he commaunded to depend from t
Moses: Yea, nothing was he permitted to do to h
his children either, in his or theyr inauguration an
tion to the preesthode, but all was committed to
Moses, and therefore were these wordes so freque
to Moses:

Note.

Exod. 28.

"Thou shalt seperate Aaron, and his sonnes, from
of the people of Israel, that they may execute the
preesthode: Thou shalt make unto them garments
annoynte them, thou shalt wash them, thou sha
handes with the sacrifice."

And so furth, of everie rite and ceremonie tha
done unto them, especiall commaundement was
Moses, that he should do it. Now if Aaron and
were so subject to Moses, that they did nothing
commaundement, who dar be so bold as to affirm
Civile Magistrate hath nothing to do in matters
For seing that then God did so straytly require
those who did beare the figure of Christ should r
the civile power, as it were, theyre sanctification a
to theyr office; and seing also that Moses was so f

ron, that the one commaunded and the other did obey; ar esteme that the civile power is now becomed so pro- in God's eyes, that it is sequestred from all intromission the matters of religion? The Holie Ghost in divers declareth the contrarie. For one of the chefe precepts aunded to the King, when that he should be placed in his , was to write the example of the boke of the Lordes Law, t should be with hym, that he might read in it all the of his life, that he might learn to fear the Lord his God, kepe all the wordes of his Law, and his statutes to do This precept requireth, not onlye that the King should lfe fear God, kepe his Law and statutes, but that also the chefe ruler, should provide that Goddes true religion be kept inviolated of the people and flock, which by God mmitted to his charge. And this did not onlie David alomon perfectly understand, but also some godlie kinges a, after the apostasie and idolatrie that infected Israel meanes of Jeroboam, did practise theyre understanding, ecute theyre power in some notable reformations. For nd Josaphat, kinges in Juda, fynding the religion alto- corrupt, did applie theyre heartes (saith the Holie to serve the Lord, and to walk in his wayes: and there- oth witnes, that Asa removed from honours his mother, ay grandmother, because shee had committed and la- to mentaine horrible idolatrie. And Josaphat did not fuse strange Goddes hymselfe, but also distroying the monuments of idolatrie, did send furth the Levites to t the people, whereof it is playne, that the one and the lid understand suche reformations to appertaine to theire . But the factes of Ezechias, and of Josias, do more prove the power and duetie of the Civile Magistrate in ormation of religion. Before the reign of Ezechias, so t was the religion that the dores of the house of the ere shut upp, the lampes were extinguished, no sacrifice derly made; but in the first year of his reigne, the first

The factes of godlie Kings are an interpretation of the Law and declaration of theyre Power.

2 Paral. 14 & 17.

Note.

2 Paralip. 29.

moneth of the same, did the King open the do
bring in the Preestes and Levites, and assembl
did speak unto them as followeth: "Hear m
and be sanctified now, and sanctifie also the h
God of your fathers, and carie furth from the
thynes (he meaneth all monuments and vesse
For our fathers have transgressed, and have c
nes in the eyes of the Eternall, our God; th
and have turned theyre faces from the tabern
and therefore is the wrath of the Lord comme
Jerusalem. Behold, our fathers have fallen b
sonnes, daughters, and wifes are led in cap
have I purposed in my heart to make a co
Lord God of Israel, that he may turne the
from us. And therefore, my sonnes, (he swet
not faint: for the Lord hath chosen you to sta
and to serve hym."

Advert that the Kinge taketh upon him to command the Preestes.

Such as be not more then blynd, clerely n
the King dothe acknowledge, that it appertai
to reforme the religion, to appoint the I
charges, and to admonish them of theyre d
which thing he more evidently declareth, w
to all Israel, to Ephraim, and Manasses, and
the handes of messingers, having this tenour:

Pa. 30.

"You sonnes of Israel, return to the Lord
Isaac, and Israel, and he shall return to the
eth from the handes of Assur. Be not as yo
your brethren were, who have transgressed
God of theyre fathers, who hath made them
see. Hold not your heart therefore, but giv
the Lord; return unto his sanctuarie; serve
shew mercie unto you, to your sonnes, and dou
bondage: for he is pitifull and easie to be ent

Thus far did Ezechias by lettres and messi
people declined from God to repentance, not o

gned laufull King, but also in Israel, subject then to an-
King. And albeit that by some wicked men his mes- NOTE.
s were mocked, yet as they lacked not theyre just punish-
(for within sixe yeares after Samaria was destroyed and
led captive by Salmanazar), so did not the zelous King
ias desist to prosecute his duetie in restoring the religion
l's perfecte ordenance, removing all abominations.
same is to be read[1] of Josias, who did not only restore 2 Par. 34.
ligion, but did further distroy all monuments of idolatrie,
of long tyme had remained. For it is written of him, 2 Reg. 23.
fter that the Boke of the Law was found, and that he had
counsel at the Prophetesse Hulda, he sente and gathered
elders of Juda and Jerusalem, and standing in the tem-
the Lord, he made a covenant[2] that all the people, from
eat to the small, should walk after the Lord, should ob-
his law, statutes, and testimonies, with all theyre heart
l theyre soule, and that they should ratifie and confirme
soever was written in the Boke of God. He further com- The King commanded the Preestes.
led Helkias the Hie preest, and the preestes of the in-
r order, that they should carie furth of the temple of the
all the vessels that were made to Baal, which he burnt
id carie theire pouder to Bethel. He did further distroy
numents of idolatrie, yea, even those that had remained
he dayes of Salomon. He did burn them, stampe them
der, whereof one part he scattered in the brooke[3] Kidron,
he other upon the sepulcres and graves of the idolaters,
bones he did burn upon the altars, where before they
sacrifice, not only in Juda, but also in Bethel, where
oam had erected his idolatrie; yea he further proceded,
id kyll the Preestes of the hie places, who were idolaters
ad deceaved the people: he did kyll them, I say, and did
heyre bones upon theyre owne altars, and so returned to
alem. This reformation made Josias, and for the same
ed this testimonie of the Holie Ghost, that neither be-

[1] The orig., "red." [2] Ib. "convenant." [3] Ib. "broke."

fore hym, neither after him, was there any such
turned to God with his whole[1] soule, and with all
according to all the Law of Moses.

Of which histories it is evident, that the Refor
gion in all points, togither with the punishe
teachers, doth appertaine to the power of the Civ
For what God required of them, his justice m
others, having the like charge and auctoritie: w
prove in them, he can not but approve in all ot
like zeale and synceritie do interprise to purg
temple and sanctuarie. What God required of
fore declared, to wit, that most diligently they s
his law, statutes, and ceremonies. And how a
2 Par. 32. theyre factes to God doth he himselfe witnesse.
he gave most notable victories without the hand
in theyre most desperat daungers, did declare
favours towardes them by signes supernaturall: t
established the kingdome, that theyre ennemies w
to stoupe under theyre feete. And the names
regestred not only in the boke of life, but also
remembrance of all posterities sence theyre da
shall continue till the commyng of the Lord Je
rewarde with the crowne of immortalitie, not o
also such as unfaynedly studie to do the will an
the glorie of his hevenlie Father, in the middes
rupted generation. In consideration whereof o
Lordes, all delay set apart, to provide for the
religion in your dominions and boundes, which
rupt, that no part of Christes institution rem
original puritie; and therefore of necessitie it is
ye provide for reformation, or els ye declare yo
only voyde of love towardes your subjects, but als
out care of your owne salvation, yea, without all
reverence of God. Two thinges perchance may

[1] In the orig., "hole." [2] Ib. "somme."

nese histories, before brevely tuiched, to appertaine
:o you. Fyrst, because you are no Jewes but Gen-
l secondarely, because you are no kinges, but nobiles
ealm. But be not deceaved, for neither of both can
ou in Goddes presence from doing your dutie, for it is
nore then certein, that whatsoever God required of
Magistrate in Israel or Juda concernyng the obser-
true religion during the tyme of the Law, the same
equire of lawfull Magistrates professing Christ Jesus
ne of the Gospell, as the Holie Ghost hath taught us
outh of David, saying, Psal. 2, "Be learned you that
earth, kysse the Sonne, lest that the Lord waxe ang-
hat yee perish from the way."

The factes of the godlie Kings in Juda do appertain to the Powers among the Gentiles professing Christ.

dmonition did not extend to the judges under the Law
doth also include all such as be promoted to honours
ne of the Gospell, when Christ Jesus doth reigne and
his spirituall kyngdome, whose ennemies in that
e fyrst most sharply taxed, theyr furie expressed, and
nocked; and then are kings and judges, who think
es free from all law and obedience, commaunded to
neyre former blynde rage, and judges are charged to
d; and last are all commaunded to serve the Eternall
to rejoyce before hym in tremblyng, to kysse the
at is, to geve unto hym most humble obedience, where-
vident that the Rulers, Magistrats,and Judges, now in
kingdome, are no lesse bound to obedience unto God,
e those under the Law. And how is it possible that
be obedient who dispise his religion, in which stand-
hefe glorie that man can geve to God, and is a service
od especially requireth of Kings and Rulers? Which
int Augustine plainely did note, writing to one Boni- Epist. 50.
man of warr, according to the same argument and
which I labour to persuade your Honours. For after
ath in that his epistle declared the difference betwixt
sie of the Donatists and Arrians, and hath somwhat

spoken of theyr crueltie, he sheweth the
should and ght to be repressed, and th
the injustly afflicted to seke support an
Advert. Magistrates. For thus he writeth, "Eit
be kept close, or els must theyr crueltie be

But if the veritie should be concealed, r
be saved nor delyvered by such silence, bu
be lost through theyr decept. But if by p
tie theyr furie should be provoked more t
meanes yet some[1] were delyvered, and mad
feare hinder many weaklings to folowe the
be not stayed. In these fyrst wordes Aug
reasons, Why the afflicted Church in those
help of the Emperour and of godlie Mag
furie of the persecuters.

NOTE WELL. The fyrst, The veritie must be spoken, o
perish in errour.

The second, The veritie being plainlie sp
adversaries to rage.

And because that some did alledge, tha
suffer all injurie, then to seke support by
third reason, to witt, That many weak one
fer persecution and death for the truthes
the lesse respect ght to be had, that the
errour, and so be brought to grater streng

O that the Rulers of this age should p
reasons of this godly writer, and provid th
Augustine's Wordes. requyreth in these wordes following: "No
was thus afflicted, yf any think, that rath
sustayned all calamitie, then that the helpe
bene asked by Christian Emperours, he do
that of such negligence no good comptes
geven. For where such as would that no j
made against theyre impietie, alledge that

[1] In the orig., "some" is always printed

thinges of the kinges of the earth, they do not consider
cn the tyme was other then it is now, and that all
re done in theyr owne tyme. What Emperour then
in Christ, that should serve hym in making lawes for
against impietie?" While yet that saying of the Pro-
s complete, "Why hath nations raged, and people have
d vanitie? The Kinges of the earth have stand up, and
have convented together against the Lord, and against
ynted;" that which is after said in the same Psalme
yet comme to passe: "And now understand, O you
be learned, you that judge the earth; serve the Lord
and rejoyce to hym with tremlinge." How do Kings
e Lord in fear, but in punishing, and by a godlie seve-
rbidding those thinges which are done against the com-
ment of the Lord? For otherwise doth he serve in so
e is man, otherwise in so far as he is king. In so far
man, he serveth hym by living faithfully; but because he
king, he serveth [by] establishing lawes that commaund
nges that be just, and that with a convenient rigour
thinges contrarie. As Ezechias served, distroying the
the temples of idols, and the places which were buylded
Goddes commaundement. So served also Josias doing
e: so served the King of [the] Ninivites, compelling the
citie to mitigate the Lord: so served Darius, geving in
ver of Daniel the idol to be broken, and his ennemies to
to the lions: so served Nebucadnezer, by a terrible law,
ing all that were in his realme to blaspheme God.
therefore do kinges serve the Lord in so far as they
gs, when they do those things to serve hym which none
kings be able to do. He further procedeth and con-
, that as, when wicked kings do reign, impietie can not
leled by lawes, but rather is tyrannie exercised under
e of the same; so is it a thing without all reason, that
professing the knowledge[2] and honour of God, should

Advert the mynd of Augustine.

In two sortes oght Kinges to serve God.

O that the world should understand!

[1] In the orig., "hole."

[2] Ib. "knolledge."

not regard nor care who did defend, no
Church of God in theyr dominions.

By these wordes of this auncient ar
Honours may perceave what I requi
represse the tyrannie of your Byshop
innocent professing the trueth. He d
perour and Kings of his daies profess
festly concludeth, that they can not se
so they do. Let not your Byshoppes
speaketh for them, because he name
them read and understand, that Augu
Church which professeth the trueth, an
tion for the defence of the same, whi
not, but rather, with the Donatists ar
persecute all such as boldly speak Ch
to manifest theyre impietie and abomin
we have of Augustine, that it appertai
Note. and service which kinges owe to Go
tyme of the Gospell as before under th
afflicted for matters of religion, and to r
persecutors by the rigour and severitie
Esaie 49. which cause, no doubt, doth Esaie the
Kinges should be norishers to the Chu
should abase their heades, and lovingl
of God." And thus, I say, your Hono
that the same obedience doth God requir
in the tyme of the Gospell, he require
Law.

An Answer to the Second Objection. Yf you do think, that the Reformation
of the afflicted, doth not appertaine to y
Kings, but Nobils and Estates of a Real
are deceaved; former, in that you do
requireth aswell, that the Princes and
learned, and that they serve and fear Go
the Kings repent. Yf you therefore b

nan can deny you to be, then by the playn wordes of
you are charged to be learned, to serve and fear God,
e can not do, if you despise the reformation of his reli-
And thys is your fyrst errour. The second is, that ye
know your duetie, which ye owe to God, neither yet
ıctoritie, which of him ye have receaved, yf ye for
e, or fear of any earthlie man, despise Goddes true reli-
d contemne your brethren, that in his name cal for your
. Your dutie is to hear the voyce of the Eternal your
d unfainedly to studie to folow his preceptes; who, as is
aid, of especiall mercie hath promoted you to honours
nitie. His chefe and principall precept is, that with
e ye receave and embrace his onlie beloved Sonne
that ye promote, to the uttermost of your powers, his
igion; and that ye defend your brethren and subjectes
he hath putt under your charge and care. Now if
ng be a man ignorant of God, ennemie to his true reli-
linded by superstition, and a persecuter of Christes
s; shall yee be excused, if with silence yee passe over
uitie? Be not deceaved, my Lordes, ye are placed in
ie for an other purpose then to flatter your King in
e and blind rage; to witt, that as with your bodies,
n, riches, and wisdome, ye are bound to assist and defend
all things, which by your advise he shall take in hand,
l's glorie, and for the preservation of his commune-
and subjects; so by your gravities, counsel, and admoni-
e are bound to correct and represse whatsoever ye
im to attempt expressedly repugning to Goddes Word,
and glorie, or what ye shall espie him to do, be it by
ce, or be it by malice, against his subjectes great or
Of which last part of your obedience, yf ye defraud
ng, ye commit against him no lesse treason, then yf ye
ract from him your due and promised support, what
his ennemies injustly he wer pursued. But this part
duetie, I fear, do a small nomber of the Nobilitie of this

age rightly consider; neither yet will t
that purpose hath God promoted the
mune song of al men is, We must o
good or be they bad; for God hath
horrible shall the vengeance be, th
upon such blasphemers of God his hol
For it is no lesse blasphemie to sa
maunded Kinges to be obeyed, when
tie, then to say, that God by his prec
tainer of all iniquitie. True it is,
Kinges to be obeyed, but like true it
they commit against his glorie, or wh
they rage against theire brethren, t
body, he hath commaunded no obedie
approved, yea, and greatlie rewarde
themselves to theyre ungodly commaun
as in the example of the Three childr
melech, it is evident. The Three child
stoupe before the golden image at the
great King Nabuchadnezar. Daniel
does being open, against the establish
his council: and Abdemelech feared n
presence of Zedechias, and boldly t
Jeremie 38. innocentie of Jeremie the Prophet, w
Council[1] had condemned to deth. E
should this day be judged foolishe by
stand what confession God doth requ
his veritie is oppugned, or his glorie ca
I say, as prefer man to God, and thing
lie inheritance, should have judged e
stubburn inobedience, foolishe presump
elles bold controlinge of the King an
how acceptable in God's presence w
ungodlie commaundements and deter

[1] In the orig., "Council" is always

d did witnes. For the Three children were delivered
he fornace of fyer, and Daniel from the den of lions, to
nfusion of their ennemies, to the better instruction of the
nt kinges, and to the perpetuall comfort of Goddes afflict-
dren. And Abdemelech, in the day of the Lordes visi-
when the King and his Councill did drink the bitter
f Goddes vengeance, did fynde his life for a praye, and Jerem. 39.
t fall in the edge of the sword, when manie thousandes
ishe. And this was signified unto him by the Prophet
at the commaundement of God, before that Jerusalem
stroyed. The promesse and cause were recited unto
these wordes, "I will bring my wordes upon this citie
ill, and not unto good: but most assuredly I shal de-
ee, because thou hast trusted in me, sayeth the Lord."
ust and hope, which Abdemelech had in God, made him
oppone himselfe, being but one, to the King and to his
ouncill, who had condemned to death the Prophet,
his conscience did acknowledge to be innocent. For this
speak in the presence of the King sitting in the port
amin. "My Lord the King," saith Abdemelech, "these
wickedly in all thinges that they have done to Jeremie
phet."

ert and take hede, my Lordes, that the men, who
ndemned the Prophet, were the King, his Princes,
uncill, and yet did one man accuse them all of iniqui-
did boldly speak in the defense of him of whose inno-
he was persuaded. And the same, I say, is the duetie
y man in his vocation, but chefely of the Nobilitie,
is joyned with theyr Kinges, to bridel and represse
olie and blind rage. Which thing if the Nobilitie
, neither yet labour to do, as they are traitours
r kings; so do they provoke the wrath of God against
lves and against the realme in which they abuse the
tie, which they have receaved of God, to mentaine
and to represse vice. For hereof I would your Honours

were most certainly persuaded, that God will
Nobilitie nor People, but the Nobilitie least c
and folow theyr Kinges in manifest iniquitie
same vengeance will God punishe the Prince, P
bilitie, conspiring togither against him and his ho
as in the punishment taken upon Pharao, Is
Babylon is evidently to be sene. For Pharao w
alone, but his captayns, chareotes, and greate a
same cup with him. The Kinges of Israel and
punished without compagny; but with them w
the councilers, theyre princes imprisoned, an
ledd captive. And why? because none was fo
to God, that he durst enterprise to resist nor
manifest impietie of theyr Princes. And there
wrath powred furth upon the one and the o
more ample discourse of this argument I deffe
portunitie: onely at this tyme, I thoght expedie
you, that before God it shall not excuse you
are no Kinges, and therefore neither can we re
nor yet defend such as be persecuted. Consid
that yee are powers ordened by God (as befo
and therefore doth the reformation of religion,
of such as injustly are oppressed, appertaine to y
care, which thinge shall the law of God, unive
be kept of all men, most evidently declare; w
and most assured reason, why, I say, yee oght
honours and to punish with death such as God
Deut. 12. ed by his owne mouth. After that Moses had
was true religion, to wit, to honor God as he
adding nothing to his Worde, neither yet di
thing from it; and after also that vehemently l
the same law to be observed, he denounceth
Deut. 13 & 27. against the transgressours in these wordes, "
sonne, doghter, wife, or neghbour, whome thou
own life, solicitate thee secretly, saying, Let us

, whome neither thou, nor thy fathers have knowen, con-
ot to hym, hear hym not; let not thyne eye spare hym,
ym no indulgentie or favour, hide him not, but utterly
m; let thy hand be the first upon hym, that he may be
and after the hande of the whole people." Of these
of Moses are two things, apperteaning to our purpose,
noted: Former, that such as solicitate only to idolatrie
be punished to death, without favour or respect of per-
For He that will not suffer man to spare his sonne, his
er, nor his wife, but straitly commaundeth punishment
aken upon the idolatours, (have they never so nie con-
n with us,) will not wink at the idolatrie of others, of
state or condition so ever they be.

Idolatrie ought to be punished without respect of person.

s not unknowen, that the Prophetes had revelations of
which were not commune to the people; as Samuel had
velation, that Eli and his posteritie should be destroyed;
aul should first be King, and thereafter that he should
cted; that David should reign for him. Micheas[1] under-
by vision that Achab should be killed in battaile against
ians. Elias[2] saw that dogges should eat Jesabel in the
of Jesrael. Eliseus[3] did see hunger come upon Israel
space of seven yeares, Jeremie did foresee the destruc-
Jerusalem and the tyme of their captivitie; and so di-
other Prophetes had diverse revelations of God, which
ople did not otherwise understand but by their affirma-
and therefore in those dayes were the Prophetes named
, because that God did open unto them that which was
m the multitude. Now, if anie man might have claimed
riviledge from the rigour of the law, or might have justi-
s fact, it should have bene the Prophete. For he might
lledged for hymselfe his singular prerogative, that he had
other men, to have Goddes will revealed unto hym by
or by dream, or that God had declared particularely
ym, that his pleasure was to be honoured in that maner,

If anie estate might have claimed priviledge, it was the Prophetes.
1 Sam. 3.
1 Sam. 9, 15.
1 Reg. 22.
1 Reg. 21.
2 Reg. 8.

[1, 2, & 3.] In our present version, Micaiah, Elijah, Elisha.

in such a place, and by such meanes. But
doth God remove, commaunding that the Pr
solicitate the people to serve strange godd
death, notwitstanding that he alledge for
vision, or revelation. Yea, althogh he promi
also that such thinges as he promiseth come
say, commaundeth God that no credit be ge
that he die the death; because he teacheth a
fection from God. Hereof your Honours r
that none provoking the people to idolatrie ogh
from the punishment of death. For if neith
able conjunction, which God hymselfe hath s
man and wife; neither that unspeakable lov
ture, which is betwixt the father and the so
that reverence, which Goddes people oght to
phetes, can excuse anie man to spare the offe
ceale his offense; what excuse can man pre
will accept? Evident it is, that no estate, c
nour, can exempt the idolatour from the hand
he shall call him to accomptes, or shall inflict
him for his offence: how shall it then excuse
they according to Goddes commaundement
death such as shal solicitate or violently dra
idolatrie?

And this is the fyrst, which I would your
note, of the former wordes, to witt, That
empted from punishment, if he can be manife
have provoked or led the people to idolatrie.
evidently declared in that solemned othe and c
Asa made with the people to serve God, and
2 Par. 15. religion, adding this penaltie to the transgr
wit, "that whosoever should not seke the Lo
should be kylled; were he greate, or were he sm
or were it woman." And of this othe was the L
he was found of them, and gave them rest on

se they sought him with their whole heart, and did swear to ish the offenders, according to the precept of his law, with- respect of persons. And this is it which, I say, I would r Honours should note for the fyrst, That no idolatour can exempted from punishment by Goddes Law. The seconde That the punishment of such crimes, as are idolatrie, blas- mie, and others, that tuche the Majestie of God, dothe not ertaine to kinges and chefe rulers only, but also to the whole ie of that people, and to every membre of the same, accord- to the vocation of everie man, and according to that possi- ie and occasion which God doth minister to revenge the rie done against his glorie, what time that impietie is mani- ly knowen. And that doth Moses more plainely speak in e wordes: "Yf in anie of thy cities," saith he, "which the d thy God geveth unto thee to dwell in them, thou shalt hear brute: There are some men, the sonnes of Belial, passed he from thee, and have solicited the citizens of theyr cities hese wordes, Let us go and serve strange goddes which have not knowen; search and inquire diligently, and if it rue that such abomination is done in the middest of thee, shalt utterly stryke the inhabitants of that citie with the rde; thou shalt destroy it, and whatsoever is within it; shalt gather the spoile of it in the middest of the market- e; thou shalt burne that citie with fier, and the spoile of o the Lord thy God, that it may be a heap of stones for ; neither shall it be any more buylded. Let nothing of execration cleave to thy hand; that the Lord may turne the furie of his wrath, and be moved towerdes thee with rd affection."

Deut. 13.

laine it is that Moses speaketh, nor geveth not charge to ges, Rulers, and Judges only, but he commaundeth the le[1] bodie of the people, yea, and everie membre of the same rding to their possibilitie; and who dar be so impudent as enie this to be most reasonable and just? For seing that

Why everie man in Israel was bound to obey Goddes commaundement.

In the orig. "whole" is uniformly printed "hole."

God had delyvered the whole bodie from bon
whole multitude had geven his law, and to the
he so distributed the inheritance of the land
no familie could complaine that it was neglec
whole and everie membre addetted to confe
ledge the benefites of God? yea, had it not
everie man to have studied to kepe the possess
Deut. 28 & 30. receaved? which thing God did plainely prono
not do, except that in their heartes they did s
God, that they embrased, and inviolably kept
blished. And finally, except they did cutt ou
amongest them, declaring themselves earnest
abominations which God declared hymselfe
Deut. 7. hate, that fyrst he commaunded the whole inl
countrie to be distroyed, and all monuments
to be broken doune; and thereafter he al
maundeth, that a citie declininge to idolatrie
edge of the sworde, and that the whole spoile o
Godd's judgements to the carnall man appear rigorous. be burned, no portion of it reserved. To the
may appeare a rigorous and severe judgem
rather seme to be pronounced in a rage then i
what citie was ever yet, in which, to mannes
not to be found manie innocent persons, as
and somme simple and ignorant soules, who
could consent to such impietie? And yet we fy
but all are appointed to the cruel death. An
the citie, and the spoile of the same, manne
think, but that it might have bene better best
consumed with fier, and so to profitt no ma
cases will God that all creatures stoupe, cover
desist from reasonyng, when commaundement
cute his judgement. Albeit I could adduce
such severitie, yet will I search none other
Ghost hath assigned. Fyrst, that all Israel, he
ment, should fear to commit the like abominati

, that the Lord might turn from the furie of his anger, t be moved towerdes the people with inward affection, be ifull unto them, and multiplie them, according to his othe unto theire fathers. Which reasons, as they are suffi- in Goddes children to correct the murmuring of the ging fleshe; so oght they to provoke everie man, as before ve said, to declare hymselfe ennemie to that which so y provoketh the wrath of God against the whole people. where Moses saith, "Let the citie be burned, and let no of the spoile cleave to thy hand; that the Lord may n from the furie of his wrath," &c., He plainely doth ie, that by the defection and idolatrie of a few, Goddes n is kyndled against the whole, which is never quenched uch punishement be taken upon the offenders; that soever served them in their idolatrie be broght to de- tion, because that it is execrable and accursed before and therefore he will not that it be reserved for anie f his people. I am not ignorant that this law was not n execution, as God commaunded. But what did thereof and folow, histories declare; to witt, plage after plage, srael and Juda were led in captivitie, as the bokes of s do witnesse. The consideration whereof maketh me bold to affirm, that it is the duetie of everie man, that o escape the plage and punishement of God, to declare elfe ennemie to idolatrie, not only in heart, hating the but also in externall gesture, declaring that he lament- vf he can do no more, for such abominations. Which was shewed to the Prophete Ezechiel, what tyme he gave to understand why he would destroy Juda with Israel; hat he would remove his glorie from the Temple and place he had chosen, and so power furth his wrathe and indig- n upon the citie, that was full of blood and apostasie, became so impudent, that it durst be bold to say, "The hath left the earth, and seeth not." At this tyme, I say, ord revealed in vision to his Prophete, who they were

For the idolatrie of a small number is Goddes wrath kindled against the multitude not punishing the offendours.

Ezech. 9.

Ezech. 8 & 9.

that should fynd favour in that miserabl
"those that did murne and lament for all
in the citie, in whose foreheades did Go
and seal Tau,"[1] to the end that the des
maunded to stryke the rest without me
them in whome that signe was found.
I suppose it be evident, that the punishm
not appertaine to kinges only, but also to
to everie membre of the same, accordi
For that is a thing most assured, tha
lament, and bewaile for those thinges wh
to the uttermost of his power. Yf this be
people, and of everie man in his vocati
quired of you, my Lordes, whome God
Princes and Rulers above your brethren,
armed with the sword of his justice? ye
pointed to be as bridels, to represse the
your Kinges, whensoever they pretend ma
Goddes blessed ordenance?

NOTE.

An Answer to an Objection.

Yf any think that this my affirmation
ment of idolaters, be contrarie to the pra
who, fynding the Gentiles in idolatrie,
pentance, requiring no such punishmen
understand, that the Gentiles, before the
lived, as the Apostle speaketh, withou
drowned in idolatrie, according to the
ance in which then they were holden, a
whome God had never openly avowed t
never receaved in his houshold, neith
lawes to be kept in religion nor politi
not his Holie Ghost, calling them to
of them anie corporall punishment, acco

Why no law was executed against the Gentiles, being Idolaters.

[1] So in the original edition.—In our present version the words are, "and *set a mark* upon the foreheads of the men that abominati midst ther

o the which they were never subjects, as they
rangers from the communewelth of Israel. But Ephe. 2
, that after that the Gentiles were called from
onversation, and by embrasing Christ Jesus were
the nombre of Abraham's children, and so made
th the Jewes, beleving; yf anie think, I say, that
re not bounde to the same obedience which God
is people Israel, what tyme he confirmed his leage
e with them, the same man appeareth to make
ur to Moses, and contrarious to the law of his
ther. For if the contempt or transgression of
as worthie of death, what should we judge the
Christes ordenance to be?—I mean after they be
. And if Christ be not commed to dissolve, but
law of his heavenlie Father, shall the libertie of
e an occasion that the especiall glorie of his Fa-
n under foote, and regarded of no man? God for-
ecial glorie of God is, that such as professe them The especiall honour which God requireth of his people. 1 Sam. 15.
ple should harken to his voice; and amongest all
God revealed to the world, tuching punishment of
more evident, neither more severe, then is that
ounced against idolatrie, the teachers and men-
same. And therefore I fear not to affirm, that
I mean everie citie, realme, province, or nation
Gentiles, embrasing Christ Jesus and his true
ound to the same leage and covenant that God
s people Israel, what tyme he promised to roote
ns before them, in these wordes:
hat thou make anie covenante[1] with the inhabi- Exod. 34.
land to the which thou commest, leste perchance
ne in ruin, (that is, be destruction to thee); but
estroy theyr alters, break their idols, and cutt
groves. Fear no strange goddes, worship them
vet make you sacrifice to them. But the Lord,

orig. always printed "cōvenante," or "convenante."

who in his great power and owtstretched a
you owt of the land of Egypt, shall you fea
honour; hym shall you worship; to hym sha
fice; his statutes, judgements, lawes, and
you shall kepe and observe. This is the
have made with you, saith the Eternall, forg
yet fear ye other goddes, but fear you the L
he shall deliver you from the handes of all y

To this same law, I say, and covenante ar
lesse bounde, then somtyme were the Jewes
doth illuminate the eyes of anie multitude, p
citie, and putteth the sworde in their own ha
enormities from amongest them, as before
be abominable. Then, I say, are they no les
theyr dominions, cities, and countries from id
the Israelites, what tyme they receaved the
land of Canaan. And moreover, I say, if any
and set up idolatrie, or to teach defection fro
the veritie hath bene receaved and approve
only the Magistrates, to whom the sword is co
the People, are bound, by that othe which t
God, to revenge to the uttermost of their
done against his Majestie. In universal de
general revolt, such as was in Israel after Je
diverse consideration. For then, because the
together conspired against God, there could n
woulde execute the punishement which God
till God raised up Jehu, whom he had appoi
pose. And the same is to be considered in
defections, suche as this day be in the Papist
blinded, and all are declined from God, and t
tinuance, so that no ordinarie justice can be
punishment must be reserved to God, and unt
he shall appoint. But I do speak of such a
they have receaved Goddes perfect religion,

e, notwithstanding that some, or the most part, fal
s of late daies was in England): unto such a nombre,
is laufull to punish the idolatours with death, if by
nes God geve them the power. For so did Josua and
etermine to have done against the children of Ruben;
l Manasses, for their suspected apostasie and defection
d. And the whole tribes did in verie dede execute that
udgement against the tribe of Benjamin, for a lesse
hen for idolatrie. And the same oght to be done
er Christ Jesus and his Evangill is so receaved in any
province, or citie, that the Magistrates and people have
y avowed and promised to defend the same, as under
lward of late dayes was done in England. In such
say, it is not only lawful to punish to the death such
to subvert the true Religion, but the Magistrates and
re bound so to do, onles they wil provoke the wrath of
inst themselves. And therfor I fear not to affirm,
ad bene the dutie of the Nobilitie, Judges, Rulers, and
f England, not only to have resisted and againstanded
hat Jesabel, whome they call their Queen, but also to
ished her to the death, with all the sort of her idola-
eestes, together with all such as should have assisted
t tyme that shee and they openly began to suppresse
Evangil, to shed the blood of the saincts of God, and
that most divellish idolatrie, the Papistical abomina-
d his usurped tyrannie, which ones[1] most justly by com-
ne was banished from that realme.

ecaus I can not at this present discusse this argu-
it appertaineth, I am compelled to omitt it to better
itie; and so returning to your Honours, I say, that
nfesse your selves baptised in the Lord Jesus, of
e ye must confesse that the care of his religion doth
ne to your charge. And if ye know that in your
God hath put the sworde for the causes above ex-

[1] "Ones," once.

pressed, then can ye not denie, bu
obstinate and malepert idolatours, (s
be) doth appertaine to your office,
continew obstinat. I am not ignora
fenses of your proude Prelates. T
gative and priviledge that they are
consent of Councils and Emperours
the Temporaltie. And secondarely, v
manifest impieties, abuses, and enorm
ners as in religion, neither fear nor s
thinges so longe established can n
althogh they be corrupted, but with
misse to take order. But in few w
priviledge graunted against the order
is to be observed, althogh all Counc
have appointed the same: But aga
is, that idolatours, murtherours, fals
shall be exempted from punishement,
therefore in vain it is that they claym
God sayeth, "The murtherer shalt
that he may die the death." And a
mation which they promisse, that is
when Satan, whose children and sla
his nature. This answer I doubt n
and godlie Reader. But yet to the e
see their own confusion, and that
understand what ye oght to do in so
defection from God, I aske of themsel
have for this their immunitie, exemp
is the auctour of it? and what frute
fyrst I say, that of God they have no
he be proved to be auctour of anie s
contrarie is easie to be seen. For
orders in Israel, did so subject Aaron
the figure of Christ) to Moses, that

God is not auctour of anie priviledge graunted to Papistical Byshoppes, that they be exempted from the power of the Civile sword.

ement, and to constrain hym to give accomptes of his
dede in consenting to idolatrie, as the historie doth
witnesse. For thus it is written:
en Moses toke the calf which they had made, and burn- Exod. 32.
th fier, and did grind it to powder, and scattering it in
er, gave it to drink to the children of Israel;" declaring
the vanitie of their idol, and the abomination of the
and thereafter, "Moses said to Aaron, What hath this
done to thee, that thou shouldest bring upon it so great

I say, doth Moses call and accuse Aaron of the de-
n of the whole people; and yet he perfectly understode,
d had appointed hym to be the High Preest, that he
bear upon his shoulders and upon his breast the names
welve tribes of Israel, for whome he was appointed to
acrifice, praiers, and supplications. He knew his dig- The dignitie of Aaron did not exempt him from judgement.
as so great, that only he might entre within the most
lace: but neither could his office nor dignitie exempt
om judgement when he had offended. Yf any object,
at that tyme was not anointed, and therefore was he
to Moses; I have answered, that Moses, being taught
mouth of God, did perfectly understand to what dignitie
was appointed, and yet he feared not to call hym in
ent, and to compell hym to make answer for his wicked
But if this answer doth not suffice, yet shall the Holie
witnesse further in the matter. Salomon removed from
Abiather being the High Preeste, and commaunded
cease from all function, and to live as a private man.
the unction did exempt the Preest from jurisdiction
Civile Magistrate, Salomon did offend, and injured
ar: for he was anoynted, and had caried the ark
David. But God doth not reprove the fact of Salomon,
yet doth Abiather claime anie prerogative by the
of his office, but rather doth the Holie Ghost approve
t of Salomon, sayinge, "Salomon ejected furth Abia-

1 Regum. 2.
1 Sam. 3.

thar that he should not be the Preest o
Word of the Lord might be performed, wh
the house of Eli."

And Abiathar did think that he obtaine
that he did escape the present death, which
he had deserved. Yf anie yet reason, tha
otherwise subject to the judgement of the K
appointed to be the executour of that sente
fore had pronounced; as I will not greatly
so require I, that everie man consider, that

NOTE WELL.

Gal. 4.
1 Tim. 3.

pronounced sentence against Eli and his
nounced also, that idolaters, hooremongers
blasphemers, shall neither have portion in
God, neither oght to be permitted to bea
Church and congregation. Now if the uncti
not Abiathar, because that Goddes sentenc
performed, can anie priviledge graunted by
to malefactours, that they shall not be subj
mentes pronounced by God? I think no m
ishe as so to affirm. For a thing more then
the whole Preesthode in the tyme of the I
give obedience to the Civile powers; and if a
same was founde criminal, the same was subje
ment of the sworde, which God had put in

Mat. 17.

Magistrate. And this ordenance of his Fat
disanul, but rather did confirme the same,
bute to be payed for hymselfe and for Pet
knowing the mynd of his Maister, thus writ

1 Pet. 2.
Act. 4 & 5.

"Submit your selves to all maner orden
excepteth such as be expressely repugnyng
maundement) for the Lordes sake; whether it
the chefe head, or unto Rulers, as unto them
hym for punishement of evill doers, and for t
that do well."

The same doth the Apostle Saint Paule m

these wordes, "Let everie soule be subject to the powers." Rom. 13.

places make evident, that neither Christ, neither his hath geven any assurance of this immunitie and pri- hich men of Church (as they wilbe termed) do this e. Yea, it was a thing unknowen to the primitive many years after the daies of the Apostles. For me, who served in the Churche at Constantinople, dreth years after Christes ascension, and after that was greatlie increased, doth yet thus write upon the ordes of the Apostle: "This precept (saieth he) doth taine to such as be called Seculars onlie, but even that be Preestes and religious men." And after he Whether thou be Apostle, Evangelist, Prophete, ver thou be, thou canst not be exempted from this ."

Chrysostome upon the 13. to the Rom.

Let Papistes answer Chrysostome.

it is playn that Chrysostome did not understand that exempted any person from obedience and subjection ile power; neither yet that he was auctour of such and priviledge, as Papistes do this day claime. And was the judgement and uniforme doctrine of the pri- urch many years after Christe. Your Honours do doubt not, from what fontaine then did this theyr , as they terme it, and singular priviledge spring. I tly touch that, which is evident in their own law and

the Byshoppes of Rome, the verie Antichrists, had, fraud and partly by violence, usurped the superio- ome places in Italie, and most injustly had spoiled rours of their rentes and possessions, and had also d some of their officers, as histories do witnesse, an Pope after Pope to practise and devise how they exempted from judgement of Princes, and from the lawes; and in this poynt they were most vigilant, till iniquitie did so prevaile in theyr handes, according

Lett theyr owne histories witnesse.

as Daniel had before prophesied of them
was pronounced· "Neither by the Empe
Clergie, neither yet by the People, shall th
"God will (saieth Symmachus) that the ca
termined by men; but without all questio
the Byshop of this seat (understanding
judgement."

The mouthe of the beast speakinge great thinges. Distin. 9. Ques. 3.

And hereof diverse Popes and exposit
would seme to geve reasons. For, saiet
preceptes of the Apostolik seat are assure
God himself."

Theyre lawes do witnesse. Dist. 19.

The auctour of the glose upon their Can
all the world should pronounce sentence a
should his sentence prevaile. For saieth h
a heavenlie will, and therefore he may
of thinges; he may apply the substance
other, and of nothing he may make somv
tence which was nothing, that is, by his n
he may make somewhat that is true and ju
in all thinges that please hym, his will is
is there any man that may aske of hym,
For he may dispens above the law, and
make justice: For he hath the fulnes of al

Cap. de Translatione. Titul. 7.

And manie other most blasphemous sen
nounce, every one after other, which for sh
till at the end they obtained this most ho
albeit in life and conversation they were so
able, that not only they condemned thems
they drew to hell and perdition manie tho
yet that none should presume to reprehe
This being established for the head, (albei
contradiction, for some Emperours did re
of them, as Goddes Word commaunded, and
had geven before to Emperours, and to the
so prevailed in his sute before the bly

Distinc. 40.

Note the equitie of this commaundement.

r sentences were confirmed, which power being graunted
head), then began provision to be made for the rest of
embres in all realmes and countries where they made
nce. The frute whereof we see to be this, that none of
estilent generation (I mean the vermine of the Papistical
will be subject to anie Civile Magistrate, how enormous
ver his crime be, but will be reserved to their own Orde-
as they terme it. And what frutes have hereof ensued,
world never so blynd, it can not but witnesse. For how
head, that Roman Antichrist, hath bene occupied ever
the graunting of such priviledges, histories do witnesse,
f late the most part of Europa subject to the plage of
to fier and sworde, by his procurement hath felt, and
ay doth fele. The pride, ambition, envie, excesse, fraude,
oppression, murther, filthie life, and incest, that is used
entained amongest that rabble of preestes, freers, monkes,
ons, byshoppes, and cardinalls, can not be expressed. I
ot to affirme, neither doubt I to prove, that the Papisti-
hurch is further degenerate from the puretie of Christes
ne, from the footesteppes of the Apostles, and from the
s of the Primative church, then was the church of the
from Goddes holie statutes, what time it did crucifie
Jesus, the onlie Messias, and most cruelly persecute his
les. And yet will our Papistes claime theyr priviledges
uncient liberties, which if you graunt unto them, my
s, ye shall assuredly drink the cupp of Goddes vengeance
hem, and shalbe reputed before his presence compagnions
ves and mentainers of murtherers, as is before declared:
heyr immunitie and priviledge, whereof so greatly they
s nothing els, but as if theves, murtherers, or briggandes
conspire amongest themselves, that they would never
r in judgement before anie laufull Magistrate, to the end
heir theft and murther should not be punished; even

The matter is more then evident.

Whosoever mentaineth the priviledges of Papists, shall drink the cupp of God's vengeance with them.

dinarie," the established Judge ordinary or immediate jurisdiction in
esiastical causes; one who has matters Ecclesiastical.

by his suppostes shall imagine against you.
that great troubles shall ensue your enterpr
not be expelled from the possession of his
without resistance. But if you, as is said,
glorie to your own lives, unfeanedly seke and
blessed will, then shall your deliverance be s
shall be knowen, that the angels of the Eterna
warr, and feght for those that unfeynedly fe
if you refuse this my most reasonable and
defence that ever you appeare to have befo
Deu. 28. Levit. 26. God (whome in me you contemne) refuse yo
furthe contempt upon you, and upon your p
The spirit of boldnes and wisdome shall b
your ennemies shall reign, and you shall di
Esa. 27 & 30. God shall cutt doune the unfrutefull trees
peare most beautifully to florish, and shall
that after of you shall neither twigge nor br
to glorie. Hereof I nede not to adduce
from the former ages, and auncient histori
thren, the Nobilitie of England, are a mir
the which ye may beholde Goddes just pu
they have refused him and his Evangel, wl
they did professe, so hath he refused the
from them the spirit of wisdome, boldene
They see and fele theyr owne miserie, and
grace to avoid it: they hate the bondage
pride of preestes, and the monstriferous e
Woman, and yet are they compelled to bowe
yock of the Devill, to obey whatsoever the
and wicked Jesabel list to commaund; an
like slaves, with capp in hand, till the serv
shaven sort, call them to counsel. This frut
gather of their former rebellion and unfa
God; they are left confused in their ov
whome, in his membres, for the pleasure o

have exiled, persecuted, and blasphemed, doth now laugh to skorn; suffereth them to be pyned in bondage of most d men; and finally, shall adjudge them to the fier ever- g, except that spedely and openly they repent theyr hor- treason, which against God, against his Sonne Christ , and against the libertie of their owne native Realme they committed. The same plages shall fall upon you, be you ed, if ye refuse the defence of his servantes that call for support. My words are sharpe, but consider, my Lords, they are not mine, but that they are the threatnynges of mnipotent, who assuredly will performe the voices of his netes, how that ever carnall men despise his admonitions. worde of Goddes wrath is alredie drawen, which of neces- nust nedes stryke, when grace offred is obstinatly refused. have bene long in bondage of the Devil; blyndnes, errour, dolatrie prevailing against the simple trueth of God in your realme, in which God hath made you Princes and s. But now doth God of his great mercie call you to tance, before he powre furth the uttermost of his ven- e: he crieth to your eares that your religion is nothing dolatrie; he accuseth you of the blood of his saincts, which bene shed by your permission, assistance, and powers: e tyrannie of those raging beastes should have no force, your strength they were not mentained. Of those horri- imes doth now God accuse you, not of purpose to con- e you, but mercifully to absolve and pardon you, as som- he did those whom Peter accused to have killed the Sonne d; so that ye be not of mind nor purpose to justifie your r iniquitie.

Lett England and Scotland both advert.

God calleth to repentance before he strike in his hote displeasure.

Papistes had no force yf Princes did not mentain them.

Act. 2.

quitie I call not only the crimes and offenses, which have and yet remaine in your maners and lives, but that also appeareth before men most holie, with hassard of my life e to prove abomination before God; that is, your whole on to be so corrupt and vaine, that no true servante of can communicate with it, because that in so doing, he

No true servant of God may communicate with the Papistical religion.

should manifestly denie Christ Jesus a
I know that your byshoppes, accompai
the Papistical vermine, shal crie, "A da
to be heard." But remembre, my Lords,
I have protested, upon which ground
witt, that I am no heretike nor decea
servante of Christ Jesus, a preacher o
innocent in all that they can lay to my
doctrine, and that therefore by them, be
I am injustly damned. From which
Appealed, and do appeal, as before me
meantyme most humbly requiring your
your protection, to be auditours of my j
unto me the same libertie which Acha
Israel, at that tyme a blynded people, g
like case: That is, that your Byshoppes
your Clergie may be called before you,
whome they have deceaved; that I be
titude, by custome, by auctoritie or la
that God hymself may be judge betwix
ries. Let God, I say, speak by his La
Christ Jesus, or by his Apostles, and
what religion he approveth; and then
so manie, and appeare they never so s
no more do I feare victorie then did He
against the multitude of Baales preeste
to have advantage by theyre councils a
ther offer, to admit the one and the o
matters debateable; three thinges (wh
denied) being granted unto me: First,
Councils nighest to the Primitive churc
and godlie Fathers did examine all mat
may be holden of most auctoritie. Seco
mination of councils nor man be admit
veritie of Goddes Word, nor against the

An Answer to the old Objection, that an Heretik oght not to be hard.

1 Reg. 18.

ouching Counlls and Doctours.

chefe Councils, whose auctoritie hath bene and is holden
hem equal with the auctoritie of the foure Evangelistes.
last, That to no Doctour be geven greater auctoritie then
ustine requireth to be geven to his writinges: to witt, if he In Prologo Retract.
ely prove not his affirmation by God's infallible Worde,
then his sentence be rejected, and imputed to the errour
man. These thinges graunted and admitted, I shall no
refuse the testimonies of Councils and Doctours then shall
dversaries. But and if they will justifie those Councils
h mentaine theyr pride and usurped auctoritie, and will
t those which plainly have condemned all such tyrannie,
gence, and wicked life, as Byshoppes now do use; and if
er, they will snatche a doubtfull sentence of a Doctour,
refuse his mynd when he speaketh plainly, then will I say,
all man[1] is a lyer, that credit ought not to be geven to
nconstant witnes, and that no Councils oght to prevaile
be admitted against the sentence which God hath pro-
ced.

nd thus, my Lordes, in a few wordes to conclude, I have
d unto you a triall of my innocencie: I have declared
you what God requireth of you, being placed above his
le as Rulers and Princes: I have offred unto you, and to
nhabitants of the realme, the veritie of Christ Jesus; and
the hasard of my life, I presently offer to prove the reli-
which amongest you is mentained by fier and sworde, to
ls, damnable, and diabolicall. Which thinges if ye refuse,
nding tyrantes in their tyrannie, then dar I not flatter; but
was commaunded to Ezechiel boldly to proclaime, so must Eze. 33.
e to you, "that you shall perishe in your iniquitie," that the
l Jesus shall refuse so manie of you as maliciously with-
d his eternall veritie; and in the day of his apparition, Mat. 24 & 26.
n all flesh shall appear before hym, that He shall repell you
his compagnie, and shall commaund you to the fier whiche
r shalbe quenched; and then neither shall the multitude Dani. 12. Mat. 25.

[1] "All man," every man.

be able to resist, neither yet the counsels of
prevaile, against that sentence which He shall

God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,
his Holie Spirit, so rule and dispose your hearts
plicitie ye may consider the thinges that be off
may take such order in the same as God in yo
fied, and Christes flock by you may be edified
to the praise and glorie of our Lord Jesus Chri
ponent Spirit rule your hearts in his true feare

AMEN.

A LETTER

ADDRESSED TO THE COMMONALTY

OF SCOTLAND.

M.D.LVIII.

s Beloved Brethren the Communaltie of Scotland, ohn Knoxe wisheth Grace, Mercie, and Peace, with he spirit of righteous judgement.[1]

I have required of the Quene Regent, Estates, and tie, as of the chiefe heades (for this present) of the realme, not cease to require of you, dearli beloved Brethren, be the Communaltie and bodie of the same; to wit, t (notwithstanding that fals and cruel Sentence which isguised Byshoppes have pronounced against me) would you to be so favorable unto me, as to be indifferent[2] audi- of my just purgation. Which to do, if God earnestly your hearts, as I nothing doubt but that your entreprise edounde to the praise of his holie name, so am I assured e and your posteritie shall by that meanes receave most ar comfort, edification, and profit. For when ye shall the matter debated, ye shall easelie perceave and under- upon what grounde and foundation is builded that reli- which amongest you is this day defended by fier and

following Letter forms part of e volume printed at Geneva, ng his Appellation: see fac- f the title, *supra*, p. 465. Mr n remarks: "In this address people of Scotland, which he m Geneva along with his Ap- the nobility, Knox, I think, to still more advantage than in the Appeal. Along with ctionate earnestness, which he heart-felt interest he took piritual welfare of the people, lcates sentiments of civil liberty and Christian privilege, that had rarely, if at all, been published in the kingdom before. There is reason to think that his Address to the people had more effect upon them, than the Appellation had upon the nobles. It prepared the way for his powerful preaching that soon followed, and which effected the Reformation."—(Edit. of Knox's History, &c., p. 405, note. Glasgow, 1832, 8vo.)

[2] "Indifferent," impartial, without prejudice.

sword. As for my own conscience, I
suaded, that whatsoever is used in the
togither repugning to Christes blessed
but mortal venom, of which whosoever
persuaded, that therewith he drinketh
except, by true conversion unto God,
same. But because that long silence
begotten ignorance almost in al sortes
joyned with long custome, hath confir
heartes of many; I therefore, in the
desire audience, aswell of you the Con
as of the Estates and Nobilitie of the
preaching I may have place amongest
mind in all matters of controversie th
further I desire, that ye, concurring w
compell your Byshoppes and Clergie
and also that, for the better assurance
conscience, ye would compell your
teachers to answer by the Scriptures c
and crimes as shalbe laid against thei
trine, wicked life, and sclanderous con
that it shalbe objected, that I require
reasonable; to witt, that ye should cal
which hath bene approved and estab
nuance, and by the consent of so man
I shortly answer, that neither is the
neither yet the multitude of men, a suf
God will allow for our religion. Fo
auncient writers do witnesse, neither c
justifie an errour, neither can the mu
it chaunge the nature of the same. B
the begynnyng, so is it in the end, an
folowed, and the mo[1] that do receave it
and more to be avoided. For if antiq

PETITION.

Answer to an Objection.

Lactantius. Firmian. Tertulian. Cyprian.

[1] "Mo," more.

ustifie any religion, then was the idolatrie of the Gen-
d now is the abomination of the Turkes, good religion.
iquitie approved the one, and a multitude hath receaved
h defende the other. But otherwise to answer, godlie
y wonder from what fontaine such a sentence doth flow,
man oght to trie his faith and religion by Goddes
but that he safely may beleve and folow everie thing
ntiquitie and a multitude have approved. The Spirit
doth otherwise teach us. For the wisdome of God, John 5 & 7.
Jesus hymselfe, remitted his adversaries to Moses and
iptures, to trie by them whether his doctrine was of
not. The Apostles Paul and Peter commaunde men Actes 17. 2 Pet. 1.
he religion which they professe, by Goddes plaine Scrip-
nd do praise men for so doing. St John straytly com- 1 John 4.
th that we beleve not everie spirit, but willeth us to trie
rits whether they be of God or not. Now seyng that
vident testimonies of the Holie Ghoste will us[1] to trie
h and religion by the plaine Worde of God, wonder it
the Papistes will not be content that theyr religion and
e come under the triall of the same. If this sentence
st be true, (as it is most true, seing it springeth from
itie itself), "Who so evill doeth, hateth the light, neither John 3.
come to the light lest that his evill workes be mani-
and rebuked;" then do our Papistes by their own sen-
ondemne themselves and theyr religion. For in so far Why Papistes will not dispute of the ground of theyr religion.
y refuse examination and trial, they declare that they
ome fault which the light will utter: which is a cause
r feare, and why they claime to[2] that priviledge, that no
spute of theyr religion. The veritie and trueth, being of
ture of fyne purified gold, doth not fear the trial of the
e, but the stuble and chaff of mannes inventions (such is
religion) may not abyde the flame of the fier. True it is, Mahomet and the Pope do agree.
Mahomet pronounced this sentence, that no man should,
e of death, dispute or reason of the grounde of his reli-

[1] "ill us," require us. [2] "Claime to," lay claim to.

gion. Which law, to this day, by the art
served amongest the Turkes, to theyr mort
rible blasphemyng of Christ Jesus, and c
And from Mahomet (or rather from Satan
hath the Pope and his rabble learned this f
that theyre Religion should not be disputed
fathers have beleved, that oght and must t
And in so divising, Satan lacked not his fo
thing hath more established the kingdome
tichrist then this most wicked Decree, to wi
permitted to reason of his power, or to call
This thing is most assured, that whensoeve
ligion shall come to examination, it shalb
other grounde then hath the religion of
mannes invention, devise, and dreames,
some colour of Goddes Worde. And t
seing that the Religion is as the stomake
if it be corrupted, doth infect the whole me
rie that the same be examined, and if it be
with pestilent humours (I mean with the
then of necessitie it is that those be purged,
and soules perishe for ever. For of this I
certainly persuaded, that a corrupt religion
life of man, appear it never so holie. Neit
should esteme the Reformation and care of
pertain to you, because ye are no Kinges,
bils, nor in auctoritie. Beloved Brethren,
tures, created and formed to his own image
whose redemption was shed the most pretiou
beloved Sonne of God, to whome he hat
gospell and glad-tidinges to be preached,
hath prepared the heavenlie inheritance, so
stinately refuse and disdainefully contemne
he hath appointed to obtaine the same, t
Evangile, which now he offereth unto you,

NOTE.

Reformation of religion belongeth to all that hope for life everlastinge.

saved. For the gospell and glad-tidinges of the king-
ruelie preached, is the power of God to the salvation of Rom. 1.
believer, which to credit and receave, you, the Commu-
are no lesse addetted then be your Rulers and Princes.
beit God hath put and ordened distinction and difference The Subject is no lesse bound to beleve in Christ then is the Kinge. Galat. 3.
t the King and subjects, betwixt the Rulers and the
ne people, in the regiment and administration of Civile
, yet in the hope of the life to come he hath made all
For as in Christ Jesus, the Jew hath no greater pre-
e then[1] hath the Gentile, the man then hath the woman,
rned then the unlearned, the Lord then the servante,
are one in him, so is there but one way and meanes to
to the participation of his benefites and spiritual graces,
is a lively faith working by charitie. And therefore I
at it doth no lesse appertaine to you, beloved Brethren,
ssured that your faith and religion be grounded and
hed upon the true and undoubted Worde of God, then
Princes or Rulers. For as your bodies can not escape
l death, if with your Princes ye eat or drink deadlie
(althoghe it be by ignorance or negligence), so shall ye
ape the death everlasting, if with them ye professe a
religion. Yea, except in heart ye beleve, and with
ye confesse, the Lord Jesus to be the onlie Saviour of
ld (which ye can not do, except ye embrace his Evangile
), ye can not escape death and damnation. For as the Abac. 2. Marc 16. John 3.
eth by his own faith, so doth the unfaithfull perishe by
delitie. And as true faith is engendred, norished, and
ned in the heartes of Goddes elect by Christes Evangile
preached, so is infidelitie and unbelefe fostered by con-
and repressing the same. And thus if ye loke for the
rlasting, ye must trie if ye stand in faith; and if ye
be assured of a true and livelie faith, ye must nedes have
Jesus truely preached unto you. And this is the cause,

[1] en," a not uncommon mode, used in place of the particle "than," to comparison.

dear Brethren, that so oft I repeat, an
that to you it doth no lesse appertai
or Princes, to provide that Christ Je
amongest you, seing that without his t
ther of you both attaine to salvation.
wherein, I say, al man[2] is equal:

Wherin all man is equal. Rom. 5. Isa. 53. John 3 & 5.

"That as all be descended from Ada
obedience did death enter into the wor
shall obtaine life to be ingrafted in o
Jesus, who, being the just servant, doth
fie many;" to wit, all that unfeanedly

Of this equalitie, and that God requi
ject, be he never so poore, then of the
matters of religion, he hath geven an
the law of Moses. For when the T
erected, and set in order, God did
thinges appertaining to the same shou
they should not fall in decay. And th
ven and earth obey his empire) would
secrete and hid treasures which lie di
the earthe, neither yet would he tak
potent of his people; but he did comm
the sonnes of Israel (were he rich or w
in compt from twentie yeares and upw
half a sicle[3] for an oblation to the Lord
their redemption, and for an expiation o
which money God commaunded should
ornaments and necessaries of the taber

Exod. 30.

[1] In the original, usually printed "knolledge."

[2] "All man," every man.

[3] "Sicle," the French term for *Shekel*, the ancient weight or coin among the Jews. "Shekel, an ancient Jewish coin, equal to four Attick drachms, or four Roman denarii, in value about 2s. 6d.
tionary.
made b
makes t
have be
Troy-we
sterling.

more added a precept, that the riche should give no more
t use, and in that behalf, then should the poore; neither
t the poore should give any lesse than should the riche
consideration. This law, to mannes reason and judge-
may appear verie unreasonable. For some riche man
have geven a thousand sicles with lesse hurt of his sub-
then some poore man might have payed the half sicle.
et God maketh all equal, and will that the one shall pay
e then the other, neither yet the poore any lesse then
he. This law, I say, may appeare verie unequall. But
cause which God addeth be observed, we shall fynde in
me the great mercie and inestimable wisdome of God to
, which cause is expressed in these wordes:

is money receaved from the children of Israel, thou shalt Exod. 30.
the service of the Tabernacle, that it may be to the
n of Israel for a remembrance before the Lord, that he
e mercifull to your soules."

cause, I say, doth evidently declare, that as the whole
ude was delivered from the bondage of Egypt by the
e power of God alone, so was everie membre of the same,
t respect of person, sanctified by his grace, the riche in
ehalf nothing preferred to the poorest. For by no merit
rthynes of man was he moved to choose and to establishe
bitation and dwellinge amongest them. But their feli-
prerogative, and honour, which they had above all other
s, proceded only from the fontaine of his eternal goodnes,
ved them freely, as that he freely had chosen them to be
eestlie kingdome and holie people from all nations of the

Thus to honour them, that he would dwell in the mid- Exod. 19.
f them, he neither was moved, I say, by the wisdome of
se, by the riches of the potent, neither yet by the vertue
olynes of any estate amongest them; but of mere goodnes
e love them, and with his presence did he honour that
people; and therefore to paynt owt the same, his com-
love to the whole multitude, and to cutt of occasions of

contention and doubtes of conscience, he
more from the riche then from the poore, for
that his Tabernacle, by the which was repre
and habitation amongest them. Yf the r
ferred to the poore, then as the one should
with pride, as that he had bene more accept
son of his greater gift, so should the conscien
bene troubled and wounded, thinking that
impediment, that he could not stand in so
God as did the other, because he was not a
as did the rich, to the mentenance of his T
who of mercie (as said is) did choose his
them, and also that best knoweth what li
provide the remedie for the one and for the
equal in that behalfe, who in other thinges
Yf the poore should have founde himselfe
that taxe, and that as much was imposed
the riche, yet had he no small cause of joy
would please to compare hym, and to mak
mentenance of his Tabernacle, to the most
Israel. Yf this equalitie was commaunde
tenance of that transitorie Tabernacle, whic
of a better to come, is not the same requ
hath the veritie, which is Christ Jesus? who
nature is made Immanuel, that is, God wit
tural bodie, albeit it be receaved in the hea
abyde till all be complete that is forespoken
yet hath he promised to be present with u
world."

The presence of God represented in the Tabernacle.

Hebr. 9.

Isaie 8. Act. 3. Mat. 28.

And for that purpose, and for the more a
misse, he hath erected amongest us here i
of his owne presence with us, his Spiritual
preaching of his Worde, and right administ
mentes: To the mentenance whereof is
subject then the Prince, the poore then the

The spiritual Tabernacle and signes of Christes presence with us.

which was geven for mannes redemption is one; so re-
th God, of all that shalbe partakers of the benefites of the
, a like duetie, which is a plaine confession that by Christ
alone we have receaved what soever was lost in Adam.
e Prince doth God require, that he refuse[1] hymselfe, and
he folow Christ Jesus; of the subject he requireth the
. Of the Kinges and Judges it is required, that they
the Sonne, that is, give honour, subjection, and obedience
m. And from such reverence doth not God exempt the
ct that shalbe saved. And this is that equalitie which is
xt the Kinges and subjectes, the most riche or noble, and
xt the poorest and men of lowest estate; to wit, that as
e is oblished to beleve in heart, and with mouth to con-
the Lord Jesus to be the onlie Saviour of the world, so
s the other. Neither is there anie of Goddes children
hath attained to the years of discretion) so poore, but Note.
he hath thus much to bestow upon the ornamentes and
enance of their Spiritual tabernacle, when necessitie re-
th; neither yet is there anie so rich, of whose hande God
reth any more. For albeit that David gathered greate 1 Par. 29.
ance for the buylding of the Temple; that Salomon with 2 Para. 3, 4, & 5. 2 Para. 29, 30. & 35.
st diligence and incredible expenses erected and finished
me; that Ezechias and Josias purged the religion which
was corrupted; yet to them was God no further dettour
t respect, then he was to the most simple of the faithfull
ritie of faithfull Abraham. For theyr diligence, zeal, and
s, gave rather testimonie and confession before men, what
r they did bear to God, what love to his worde and re-
ce to his religion, then that any worke proceading from
did either establishe or yet encrease Goddes favoure to-
s them, who freely did love them in Christ his Sonne, be-
the foundation of the world was laied. So that these
amed by theyr notable workes gave testimonie of theyr
ned faith, and the same doth the poorest, that unfeanedly

[1] "Refuse," deny, reject.

and openly professeth Christ Jesus, that
tydinges offred, that doth abhorre sup
idolatrie. The poorest, I say, and mos
in earth, in the daies of this cruel perse
in Christ, and boldly doth confesse h
generation, is no lesse acceptable before
in his presence to have done any lesse i
cause, then is the King, that, by the s
he hath receaved of God, wrooteth ow
vanceth Christes glorie. But to return
it is no lesse required, I say, of the sub
and to professe his true religion, then o
And therefore I affirme, that in Godde
excuse you to alledge that ye were no
fore that the care and reformation of
taine unto you.

Ye, dear Brethren, (as before is sai
God, created to his owne image and
Mat. 17. is commaunded to hear the voyce of
to embrase his Sonne Christ Jesus, t
and religion which he hath not appro
vealed to us in his most blessed Word
and charges, if ye be founde inobedient
iniquitie, as rebelles and stubborn serva
sure to obey the good will of their sov
lovingly doth call for your obedience: A
in this behalf it is your part to be car
Note. the question is not of thinges tempora
be endaungered, yet by diligence and
after be redressed, but it is of the da
and soules, and of the losse of the life
lost can never be recovered. And the
hoveth you to be careful and diligent i
ter, lest that ye, contemnyng this oc
offereth, fynd not the like, althoghe t

obbes, ye languyshe for the same. And that ye be not
ant of what occasion I mean, in few words I shall ex-
e it.

t only I, but with me also divers other godlie and learned
do offer unto you our labours, faithfully to instruct you in
vaies of the Eternal our God, and in the synceritie of
tes Evangel, which this day, by the pestilent generation of
christ, (I mean, by the Pope, and by his most ungodlie
ie,) are almost hyd from the eies of men. We offer to
rd our lives for the salvation of your soules, and by mani-
Scriptures to prove that Religion, which amongest you is
ained by fier and sworde, to be vaine, fals, and diabolical.
require nothing of you, but that paciently ye will heare
octrine, which is not ours, but is the doctrine of salvation
led to the world by the onlie Sonne of God; and that ye
examine our reasons, by the which we offer to prove the
stical religion to be abominable before God. And last we
re, that by your power the tyrannie of those cruel beastes,
ean of Preests and Freers) may be brideled, till we have
ed our mindes in all matters this day debateable in Reli-

THE OFFER OF JOHN KNOXE TO HIS NATIVE REALME.

What he requireth.

Yf these thinges, in the fear of God, ye graunt to me
unto others, that unfeanedly for your salvation and for
les glorie require the same, I am assured, that of God ye
be blessed, whatsoever Satan shall devise against you.
and if ye contemne or refuse God, who thus lovingly offer-
nto you salvation and life, ye shall neither escape plagues
orall, which shortly shall apprehend you, neither yet the
ent prepared for the Devil, and for his angels, except by
e repentance ye returne to the Lord, whome now ye refuse,
at ye refuse the Messingers of his worde.

An Answer to Two Questions.

t yet I think ye doubt, what ye oght and may do in this
eghtie a matter. In few wordes, I will declare my con-
ce in the one and in the other. Ye oght to prefer the
e of God, the promoting of Christ his Evangel, and the sal-
n of your soules, to all thinges that be in earth: and ye,

Subjectes may lawfully require true Preachers of theyr rulers.

althoghe ye be but subjectes, may lawfully requ
periours, be it of your King, be it of your Lor
powers, that they provide for you true Prea
they expell such as, under the name of Pastou
destroy the flock, not feeding the same as Ch
commaunded. And if in this point your supe
gent, or yet pretend to maintaine tyrantes in
most justly ye may provide true teachers for y
in your cities, townes, or villages: them ye may
defend against all that shall persecute them
meanes shall labour to defraude you of that m
foode of your soules, Christes Evangel truely
may, moreover, withhold the frutes and profe
fals Byshoppes and Clergie most injustly recey
such tyme as they be compelled faithfully to d
and dueties, which is to preach unto you Chri
ryghtly to minister his Sacramentes according t
tution, and so to watche for the salvation of y
commaunded by Christ Jesus hymselfe, and b
Paul and Peter. Yf God shall move your hea
fear to begynne to practise these thinges, and t
crave the same of your superiours, which most
do, then I doubt not, but of his great mercie an
shall illuminate the eyes of your myndes, that
veritie shalbe a lantern to your feete to guyde a
all the wayes which his godlie wisdome doth
shall make your ennemies tremble before your
establish his blessed Evangel amongest you, t
and perpetual comfort of yourselves, and of
after you. But and if (as God forbyd) the love
fear of your Princes, and the wisdome of the w
back from God and from his Sonne Christ Je
tainly persuaded, that ye shall drink the cupp of
so many, I mean, as shall contemne and dispise
ing of your heavenlie Father. It will not ex

Joan. 21. Act. 20.

Thinges that may draw men back from the syncerite of Christes Evangel.

ren, in the presence of God, neither yet will it availe you
day of his visitation, to say, We were but simple sub-
we could not redresse the faultes and crimes of our rulers,
ppes, and clergie: we called for Reformation, and wished
same; but Lords brethren were Byshoppes, theyr sonnes
Abbottes, and the frendes of greate men had the posses-
the Churche, and so were we compelled to give obedience
that they demaunded. These vaine excuses, I say, will
g availe you in the presence of God, who requireth no
f the subjectes then of the rulers, that they decline from
nd that they do good; that they abstaine from idolatrie,
tition, blasphemie, murther, and other such horrible
which his law forbiddeth, and yet not the less are openly
tted and maliciously defended in that miserable Realme.
f ye think that ye are innocent, because ye are not the
auctours of such iniquitie, ye are utterly deceaved. For
oth not only punishe the chefe offenders, but with them
e damne the consenters to iniquitie: and all are judged Rom. 1.
sent, that, knowing impietie committed, give no testimonie
he same displeaseth them. To speak this matter more Note.
, as your Princes and Rulers are criminal with your Princes and Byshoppes are alyke criminal.
ppes of all idolatrie committed, and of all the innocent
that is shed for the testimonie of Christes trueth, and
ecause they maintaine them in theyr tyrannie, so are you,
n, so many of you as give no playn confession to the
rie,) criminal and gyltie, with your Princes and Rulers,
same crimes, becaus ye assist and maintaine your
s in theyr blynde rage, and give no declaration that
tyrannie displeaseth you.

s doctrine, I know, is strange to the blynde world, but How Subjectes offend with theyr Princes.
eritie of it hath bene declared in all notable punish-
from the begynning. When the original world perish- Gen. 7 & 19. Josephus. Ægesippus.
water, when Sodom and Gomorrha were consumed
r, and finally, when Jerusalem was horribly destroyed,
any man think, that all were alyke wicked before the

world? Evident it is that they were not, if t
according to theyr external factes. For
and could not be oppressours, neither yet
selves with unnatural and beastlie lustes
and gentle of nature, and did not thrist for
nor of his Apostles. But did any escape t
geance which did apprehend the multitude?
witnesse, and the histories be considered, w
tifie, that by the waters all fleshe in the Ea
perishe, Noah and his familie reserved; th
Sodom and in the other cities adjacent, exc
daughters. And evident it is, that in tha
salem, in that last and horrible destructio
escaped Goddes vengeance except so many
persed. And what is the cause of this sev
were not alike offenders? Let fleshe cease
and let all man, by these examples, learne
avoide the societie and compagnie of the p
God, if that they list not to be partakers o
cause is evident: if we can be subject, w
Goddes judgementes, which in themselves
just. For in the original World none wa
did resist tyrannie and oppression, that u
either yet that earnestly reprehended the
was none founde that did againstand that
multitude, that did compasse about and b
Lot: none would beleve Lot, that the citie
And finally, in Jerusalem was none found
presse the tyrannie of the Preestes, who w
Christ and his Evangil; but all fainted, (I
gave witnesse with theyr blood or theyr
pietie displeased them,) all kept silence;
proved iniquitie, and joyned hands with
were all arrayed and set, as it had been, in
the Omnipotent, and against his Sonne

Why all perished in the Flood, in Sodom and Gomorrha.

ever gathereth not with Christ in the day of his harvest, ged to scatter. And therefore of one vengeance tempo- ere they all partakers. Which thing, as before I have ed, oght to move you to the depe consideration of your in these last and most perilous tymes. The iniquitie of Byshoppes is more then manifest; theyr filthie lives infect er; the innocent blood which they shed crieth vengeance e eares of our God; the idolatrie and abomination which y they commit, and without punishment maintaine, doth pt and defyle the whole land; and none amongest you doth iedly studie for any redresse of such enormities. Will in this behalf, hold you as innocentes? Be not deceaved, Brethren. God hath punished not only the proude ty- s, filthie persons, and cruel murtherers, but also such as them did draw the yoke of iniquitie, was it by flattering offenses, obeying theyr injust commaundementes, or in ing at theyr manifest iniquitie. All such, I say, hath once punished with the chefe offenders. Be ye assured, iren, that as he is immutable of nature, so will he not n in you that which so severely he hath punished in s; and now the lesse, because he hath plainely admonished f the daungers to come, and hath offred you his mercie, e he poure forth his wrath and displeasure upon the in- ent.

What Subjectes shall God punishe with theyre Princes.

d, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is Father orie, and God of all consolation, geve you the Spirit of me, and open unto you the knowledge of hymself by the es of his dear Sonne, by the which ye may attaine to the ance and hope, that after the trubles of this transitorious ye may be partakers of the riches of that glorious inherit- which is prepared for such as refuse themselves, and feght r the banner of Christ Jesus in the day of this his battaile; in depe consideration of the same, ye may learn to prefer nvisible and eternal joyes to the vaine pleasures that are nt. God further graunt you his Holie Spirit, righteously

to consider what I, in his name, have requi
and of you the Subjects; and move you all t
that my Petition be not a testimonie of y
tion, when the Lord Jesus shal appear to
his Sanctes, and the contempt of his most

AMEN.

Sleap not in syn, for vengeance is prep
obedient. Flie from Babylon, if ye will
her plagues.

Be witnesse to my APPELLATION. Grace
Geneva, the 14. of July 1558.

Your Brother to commaunde in g

JOHN KNOXE TO THE READER.[1]

s many are offended at the FIRST BLAST OF THE TROM-
whiche I affirme, That to promote a Woman to beare
empire above any realme, nation, or citie, is repugnant
re, contumelie to God, and a thing moste contrariouse to
aled and approved Ordenance; and because also, that
ath promised (as I understand) a Confutation of the
have delayed the SECOND BLAST till suche tyme as
asons appere, by the which I either may be reformed in
or els shall have further occasion more simply and
to utter my judgement. Yet in the meane tyme, for
charge of my conscience, and for avoyding suspition,
might be ingendred by reason of my silence, I could not
notifie these subsequent Propositions, which, by God's
purpose to entreate in the SECOND BLAST promised.

is not birth onely, nor propinquitie of blood, that mak-
inge lawfully to reign above a people professing Christe
nd his eternall veritie; but in his election must the orde-
which God hath established in the election of inferiour
be observed.

manifest idolater, nor notoriouse transgressor of God's
eceptes, ought to be promoted to any publike regiment,[2]

Summary of the proposed
BLAST is printed at the end
Admonition, in the volume
of Knox's Appellation, Geneva, 1558:
See *supra*, page 466.

[2] "Regiment," government.

honour, or dignitie, in any realme,
hath subjected the self[1] to Christe J
Evangil.

3. Neither can othe nor promesse b
obey and maintein Tyrantes against Go
knowen.

4. But if either rashely they have
wicked personne, or yet ignorantly ha
after declareth himself unworthie of re
of God, (and suche be all idolaters and
justely may the same men depose and
advysedly before they did nominate, ap

MATTH. VI.

"If the eye be single, the whole

[1] "The self," themsel

APPENDIX:

CONTAINING

ANTHONY GILBY'S ADMONITION

TO ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

M. D. LVIII.

rcumstance of the following Admonition having formed on of the volume containing Knox's Appellation, occa- the strange mistake of supposing that it was written by der an assumed name. It is here inserted as an Appen- om its having been originally combined with his work, aring a special reference to the state of affairs at this e, when there was no apparent prospect of the change so speedily took place in England, by the accession of Elizabeth. A brief notice of the Author will not be red out of place.

HONY GILBY, a native of Lincolnshire,[1] was born about ar 1510. He was educated in the University of Cam- and as a Member of Christ's College, he was admitted 1531–2, and M. A. in 1535.[2] Whether he obtained any n England, during the reign of Edward the Sixth, is in. It is, however, by no means improbable, as he had uished himself by his learning;[3] and in 1547 had pub- an answer to the work of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of ester, entitled, "A Detection of the Deuils Sophistrie, th he robbeth the vnlearned people of the true byleef, most blessed Sacrament of the aulter. Prynted at , by Jhon Herforde, at the costes and charges of Ro- Toye, 1546," 8vo. This work also produced a reply Bishop Hooper.[4] Gardiner published a vindication of k, entitled, "An Explication and assertion of the true que fayth, touching the moost blessed Sacrament of the with confutacion of a booke written agaynst the same. by Steuen Byshop of Wynchester, and exhibited by his ande for his defence to the Kynges Maiesties Commis- at Lambeth. Anno 1551," 12mo.

alæi Scriptores Majoris Bri- nt. ix., lxxv., p. 725.

onius Gylbe [Lincoln: Coll: rt. Bac. an. 1531: Art. Mr. egr. Acad."—Baker's MSS. y Library, Cambridge, vol. 426.

[3] Bale says, "ex trium principalium linguarum notitia, celebre apud Britannos obtinuit nomen."

[4] For Archbishop Cranmer's elaborate "Answer unto a Crafty and Sophisticall Cavilation, &c., 1551," folio, see vol. iii. p. 279, note 4.

In "The Confutation of XIII. Articl
Shaxton, late Bishop of Salisburye, sub
he recanted in Smithfielde," &c., the au
remarks, "If I were required to say my c
deny but I thinke them (*i. e.* the Article
workemanshyp, because they agree so w
and that chiefelye in the deuylleishe de
the Deuylles sophistry, which he set abro
Articles of yours. *But woulde God you w
me, as he is answered by Anthony Gilbie.*"[1]

Gilby was not likely to escape the
he regained his influence as Lord Chan
spirit of persecution was renewed in the
which forced so many of the Protestant
He early withdrew himself from the impe
the course of that year, 1554, he joined
gation at Frankfurt. In the extracts f
course" of their Troubles, inserted in th
will be seen that, in January 1555, an in
bleness and godly zeal" is recorded in hi
the division which scattered the members
He was one of the six divines who con
Prayers, known as "The Book of Comm
also now reprinted (pages 149 to 214).
time at Frankfurt, endeavouring to promo
unity;" but this proving to be hopeless, a
he united with several of his brethren in
those who still remained in that city, in w
and undertook "to defende our departure
trary to the slanderous reportes of som
terme it a schisme." This letter, signed b
among whom were Whittingham, Goodma
martyrologist, Williams, and Keith, is dat
gust.[2] As Gilby was among the number
tained similar views with Knox, he came
panied by Elizabeth his wife, and Goddred

[1] Sign. Aij.

[2] "A Brieff Discours," &c., pp. 54, 55.

[3] The name of Goddred Gilby appears as the translator of "An Epistle or letter of Exhortation, written in Latyne by Marcus Tullius Cicero, to his brother Quintus the Proconsull or Deputy of As
a Magistrate
ly described,"
(Herbert, p. 8
"Admonition
ciall," printed
Hall, without
12mo. (Ib. p.

enefit of the church then newly granted," 13th of October
On the 1st of November, when the church was erected,
topher Goodman and Anthony Gilby were "appointed to
e the Word of God and mynyster the Sacraments, in
osence of John Knox." Bishop Bale, in his brief notice
lby, in 1557, concludes with the words, "He now resides
neva, a stranger and exile for the cause of Christ," (Vivit
Genevæ, pro Christi veritate peregrinus et exul.) At the
quent elections of Office-bearers, on the 16th of Decem-
n the years 1556, 1557, and 1558, Gilby was chosen one
Seniors or Elders. He assisted in the translation of the
known as the Genevan version, which was first printed
neva in 1560, with a dedication to Queen Elizabeth.
e precise time when Gilby returned to England, and the
of his preferment to the Vicarage of Ashby de la Zouch
icestershire, have not been ascertained. It was at least
ter than the year 1564. This preferment was in the gift
Earl of Huntingdon, to whose family he continued to
ss his attachment, and by whom he was greatly esteemed.
e of the Puritan ministers who adhered as much as pos-
o the discipline of the Church of Geneva, and who exerted
elves to effect some further reformation in the Church
gland, his prospects of preferment were not advanced.
ishop Parker, for the purpose of binding the clergy to a
exact conformity, by wearing the habits and observing
remonies to which the Puritans were so much opposed,
ed the Archbishop of York to prosecute Gilby, Whitting-
and others. But Grindal, who was averse to all severe
res, in regard to Gilby replied, that as he dwelt in Lei-
shire, and was out of his province, he could not proceed
t him; and that his case should be referred to the Com-
ners in the South.[1] It is probable that it was through
fluence of his patron, the Earl of Huntingdon, that he
d the persecution to which many of his brethren were
d. Strype,[2] in reference to one of his works, written in
under the form of a Dialogue between a Soldier of Ber-
and an English Chaplain, says, "It had been suppress
is, withheld from the press) for some years upon the hope
ormation; but now, after very many ministers had been
d for their non-compliance with the Orders of the Church,
uthor set forth his book, bitter enough, and full of scoffs

[1] pe's Life of Parker, p. 320, e of Grindal, p. 176.
[2] Annals of the Reformation, vol. i., 2d edit., p. 488.

and taunts, bearing this title, 'A
His own words, written probably in 1
was written almost seven yeares ago
hope of reformation soone after, there
the writer suppressed. But now that
thought good that the follie of the
knowne unto all, that will see it, or
with his godly and zealous letter "To
Brethren, that labour to root out the
Fuller, in his Worthies of England,[1]
after his return from exile, "a fierce,
of the Church Discipline established
Church History,[2] he adduces as "the
sticklers against Church-Discipline,
and Goodman. These three, he sa
Antesignani of the fierce Non-Conform

In 1580, Gilby published a transla
version and Paraphrase of the Ps
Ashby, 7th March 1579–[80], and i
Honourable and vertuous Lady, the L
of Huntingdon, mine especiall good L
honourable my singuler good Lady,
thinges, the which the great States
eloquent termes which this world do
Honour doeth know my rude simplic
great mercy alwayes grounded uppon
pleaseth your Honour to give me leave
you: And nowe having gathered son
booke of that excellent Theodore Bez
dedicate to my most honourable Lor
foorth some part of the same into E
most expedient for you, and to presen
this short preface." After referring
and the necessity for seeking God's
"Now as the Latin Psalmes of Beza be
able Lord by right, as dedicate and se
these Englishe Psalmes translated at
vauntes (who is wholly my Lords and
the great Lord) do by as good right
who but by some such means of tra
commoditie of the others, although y

[1] Lincolnshire, p. 167.

n, because it is my Lord's your husband's, to whom if
old forworne rude simplicity, unfit for this fine world,
have brought forth any thing worthy his Honour, I
not have bene so long silent." This lady was daughter
hn Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and the wife of
third Earl of Huntingdon, K.G., who succeeded to the
n June 1561, and who died at York s. p. December 14,
and was buried at Ashby. She survived till August 14.

industrious and learned antiquary, Thomas Baker, in
llections relating to Cambridge, now deposited in the
rsity Library of Cambridge,[1] has transcribed a series of
al letters "from several noted Puritans," addressed to
Ashby, from 1565 to 1584; and states that Gilby lived
"as great as a Bishop." The first letter is from Dr
t Beaumont, of Trinity College, who styles him, "Myne
nt and godlie learned friend, Mr Antonie Gilbie at
e, in the Countie of Leicestre." Thomas Sampson, an-
of the Genevan exiles, addresses his letters "To the
nd Father in God, my good Elder Brother, Mr Gilbie at
e." Other correspondents were Dr Laurence Humphrey,
Field, Thomas Wilcocks, Laurence Thomson, and Thomas
nam) Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. Baker adds,
are some of his [Gilby's] letters, most torn," but he gives
erence in whose possession the originals were preserved.
of the letters are printed in Brook's History of the Puri-
ut incorrectly.

date of Gilby's decease is not stated. It was probably in
as we find a letter addressed to him on the 8th of March
[5]. In the list of Vicars of Ashby, contained in Ni-
History, his son, Nathaniel Gilby, is entered as having
dmitted on the 8th of December 1582. There is some
to doubt whether he ever held this appointment; nor
his admission have taken place on that day, as "Nath.
Coll. Chr., admissus in matriculam Acad. Cant. Dec. 8.
cum esset cooptandus in ordinem Bac."[2] Gilby's assis-
nd successor was Thomas Wyddowes: he was admitted
3; and it would seem he was his son-in-law. From a

ecently examining this por-
Baker's Manuscripts, and
her sources of information re-
Gilby, I beg to express my
nks to A. Jessop, Esq., and
J. E. B. Mayor, Esq., of St John's, for
their kind assistance.

[2] Baker's MSS., vol. xxxii. p. 438.
Nichols's History of the County of
Leicester, vol. iii. pp. 619, 635.

letter, written by J. Ireton, from Cambri
we learn that young Gilby had been place
of Mr Dickenson, "*as your sonne Mr W*
you; as Mr Chaderton taketh none to his
vacancy occurred by the death of Wyddow
Hildersham, an eminent divine, was preser
by his noble kinsman, the patron, Henr
don, who held the important office of Lo
Council at York. The letter addressed
dated, "At York, hastily, 5. Julij 1593," a
hath pleased the Lord to call Tho. Wydd
who was (in my opinion) both faithfull, c
in his function, according to his talent;
my heart the supply of that place to be suc
FATHER GILBIE *and he*, by the good prov
God, *have planted in and about Ashby, may*
creased. Therefore, I chuse to present yo
charge of Ashby," &c.[1] The Earl, in a p
the comfort of the poore widowe, I will tal

Dr Joseph Hall, afterwards Bishop of No
tive of Ashby, in the account of his paren
reverend and (in his time) famous divine
under whose ministry" his mother lived; w
under the tuition of Mr Nathaniel Gilby,
College, Cambridge, and continued so fo
"Observations of some specialities of Di
his own life, Hall relates that Gilby resi
upon the promise of being amply provi
"that incomparably religious and noble E
and that the very day before Hall was el
fellowship, Gilby was deprived of such exp
expected death of Lord Huntingdon, 1st I

The following is considered to be a nea
plete list of Gilby's writings. We might
letter prefixed to Knox's Admonition in 1

1. "An ansvver to the deuillish detecti
diner, Bishoppe of Wynchester, published
such as be desirous of the truth should no
errours, nor the blind & obstinate excused
piled by A. G. Anno. 1547. the 24. of Ja

[1] Nichols's History of the County of Leicest

in small 8vo. (Herbert's Typogr. Antiq. p. 1562, who ers it to have been printed abroad; but who has a re- e at p. 451 to an edition of the same date, printed at on by Thomas Berthelet.) On the last page, a wood-cut John the Evangelist.

'A Commentarye vpon the Prophet Mycha. Wrytten by y Gilby. Anno Domi. M.D.LI. (colophon,) Imprinted at on by Jhon Daye, dwelling over Aldersgate, beneth Saint ns, 1551," small 8vo, A to O 7, in eights. The last leaf ns "A Prayer for the Kyng." (Herbert, p. 627; Lea n's Catalogue, p. 293.) Another edition, with the same and date, but no place or printer's name, 1551, 12mo. . 294.) The two editions correspond page for page, the graphy being somewhat altered, and the colophon omitted. editions are in the University Library, Cambridge.

'Anth. Gilbie his Commentarie on Malachie. London, d by John Day," no date, 8vo. (Catalogue of English d Bookes, by Andrew Maunsell, p. 54. London, 1595, Herbert and Dibdin, not having seen the book, refer to sell. It may be assigned to the year 1553, from the re- e made to it by the author in his Treatise on Election. reas three yeares ago, dearely beloved, I did write of this r of Election and Reprobation, which is called Predesti-, in a certayn *Commentarie upon the Prophet Malachie*, occasion of this text, 'I have loved Jacob, and I have Esau;' the which Treatise, by the rage of persecution, perished, and parte dyd come of late to my hands: ac- ing this doctrine so necessarie, that upon all occasions it with reverence to be uttred to the glory of God," &c.

'Anth. Gilbie his Treatise of Election and Reprobation, ertain Answers to the Obiections of the Adversaries of octrine. Printed at Geneva, by James Poulain and Hen. uin, 1556," 16mo. (Maunsell's Catalogue, p. 54.) An- edition, "A Briefe Treatise of Election and Reprobation, erten Answers to the Obiections of the Aduersaries of loctrine; Wrytten by Anthonie Gylbie.—Imprinted at n, by David Moptid and John Mather." It has no date, as added to a republication of "A briefe Declaration of iefe Poyntes of Christian Religion, set foorth in a Table by Theodore Beza. Englished by W. Whittingham." ert, p. 884.) This had also been first printed at Geneva, . Riuery, 1556. (Maunsell, p. 9. Herbert, p. 1595.) rd edition was printed with a similar treatise on Elec-

tion, by John Foxe, in "The Treasure of Tr
dore Beza. At London, for Thomas Woodco
(Herbert, p. 1107–8.)

5. "De Libero Arbitrio, lib. 1." This w
Bale, in 1557, along with the preceding four
alia, librosque aliorum plures transtulit."
p. 725.)

6. "An Admonition to England and Scotl
Repentance. By Anth. Gilbie. Imprinted
Crispine, 1558." This edition is quoted by
his "A Counterblast to M. Horne's vayne
Fekenham," p. 23. Lovanii, 1567, 4to. (
1623.) The mention of the printer's name
a separate publication, but the page refer
with that of Knox's volume, in the same
reprinted.

7. The Geneva Bible: "The Bible and H
teyned in the Olde and Newe Testament.
ing to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred w
lations in diuers languages, &c. At Ge
Rowland Hall. M.D.LX." 4to. This ve
years the one most generally used in Eng
through at least fifty editions before the
Translators were Myles Coverdale, Anthon
Whittingham, Christopher Goodman, Thon
Thomas Cole; to whom some add, John Kn
William Kethe, and John Pullein.

8. "A pleasaunt Dialogue, betweene a Sc
and an English Chaplaine; wherein are la
laide open, such reasons as are brought in f
Popishe Traditions in our English Church, &
a letter of the same Author, placed before
of a Preface. 1581." Small 8vo. It ha
previously printed. The letter is dated fr
of May 1566. A second title, on the rev
follows: "A pleasaunt Dialogue, conteinin
betweene a Souldier of Barwick and an Eng
of a late Souldier was made a Parson,
pluralitie of Benefices, and yet had but one
ing: but he was priestly apparailed in al
maintained his Popish attire, by the authorit
written against London Ministers." The P
is addressed "To my Reverent Fathers and

r Couerdale, Mai. Turner, M. Whittingham, M. Samp-
I. Doctor Humphrey, M. Leuer, M. Crowley, and others
abour to roote out the weedes of Poperie. Signed A. G."
ert, p. 1657.) This letter is inserted under Gilbie's name,
the date 1570, at p. 12, in the well-known collection
d, "A parte of a register," &c., which was printed, as
ears, at Edinburgh, by Robert Waldegrave, in 1593, but
ssed.

Commentaries of that diuine Iohn Caluine, vpon the Pro-
Daniell, translated into Englishe, especially for the use of
mily of the ryght honorable Earle of Huntington, to set
as in a glasse, how one may profitably read the Scrip-
by consideryng the text, meditatyng the sense therof, and
yer. At London, imprinted by Iohn Daye, ouer Alders-
1570." 4to, title, 11 leaves and 120. The address "To
ader" is signed A. G., which Herbert, p. 649, supposed
cate Arthur Golding, the translator of other works of Cal-
d of various Classics both in prose and verse. It may,
er, be noticed, that Golding's name appears uniformly at
ngth on his translations, while the initals "A. G." were
y Gilby; but besides the allusion to his having been
Calvin's scholars (at Geneva), the words on the title in
ce to Gilby's patron leave little doubt on the subject.
volume is confined to the first six chapters of Daniel.
llowing is the Translator's Address: "To the Reader.
d Reader, blame not this thyng, I besech thee, which I
one in this plaine and rude sort, for the commoditie of
ple and unlearned; whom I did thinke unable to com-
de in theyr mindes and to apply unto their consciences
earned Commentaries of this divine Calvine, unles they
omethyng abridged, and the expositions of the Hebrue
, which would have bene somethyng darke in our lan-
omitted. Wherfore, as I do profess myselfe to bee one of
olers, and do prayse God for the same more then for any
matter, so do I not of arrogancie alter or change any
n his writynges. But because I do know right well, that
ere alyue hym selfe, he would suffer all his doings to be
l to the commoditie of the Church: therfore now, when
fer his trauayles to the unlearned of our English nation,
e desirous of the same, I do so present them as may be
omfortable to their conscience, and least tedious to such
persons as are not able to comprehend all his large and
discourses. And this abbrydgement do I make but in

the two first chapters, and in few places besides: putting into print at the present the one halfe of the booke of DANIELL, conteyning the first vj. Chapiters, which do treate of the particular hystories wrought by God in hys tyme, and therfore semeth unto me farre diverse from the latter vj. Chapters, wherin he prophecieth of all thynges that should come unto the elect people untill the commyng of Messias, and toucheth also somethynges that be generall unto all, even to the end of the world. The which latter part also I do meane (by God's grace) to publish for the instruction of our nation in these obscure Prophecies, if I can perceave this former travayle to be well accepted of the godly, which is my desire, and whom I do exhorte in the Lord to read the Scriptures attentyvely, to meditate the same diligently, to pray continually. A. G."

10. "A Viewe of Antichrist, his Lawes and Ceremonies, in our English Church unreformed." This tract was probably printed at the time between 1570 and 1572; and it is republished in the volume already quoted, "A parte of a Register," &c., p. 55–72.

11. "The Psalmes of Dauid, truely opened and explained by Paraphrasis, according to the right sense of euery Psalme. With large and ample Arguments, &c. Set foorthe in Latin by that excellent learned man, Theodore Beza: And faithfully translated into English by Anthonie Gilbie. At London, printed by Iohn Harison and Henrie Middleton, 1580," 24mo, pp. xv. & 400. Another edition, "And by him newlie purged from sundrie faultes escaped in the first print," &c. [London,] printed by Henrie Denham, 1581, 24mo. A third edition. London, printed by Richard Yardley and Peter Short, for the assignees of W. Seres. 1590, pp. xiv. and 368, 24mo.

12. "A Paraphrastical Explanation, or Opening of Fourteen holie Psalmes chosen out of the booke of the old and new Testament: and may very aptlie be ioined with Davids Psalter. Latelie written in Latin by that great learned man Theodore Beza, and now newlie englished by Anthonie Gilbie. Imprinted at London by Richard Yardley and Peter Short, 1590," 24mo, pp. 77, and a table. These "Psalms" consist of the Song of Thankesgiving by Moses—Another Psalme of Moses —A triumphant Song of Deborah—&c. This little volume was printed at the same time, and intended to accompany the above 1590 edition of Beza's Psalms. The two are so bound in a copy in the University Library, Cambridge.

ADMONITION TO ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, TO CALL THEM TO REPENTANCE. WRITTEN BY ANTONY GILBY.

REAS many have written many profitable Admonitions to waine, (O England and Scotland, both makinge one Island, happie if you could know your own happines); somme[1] st the Regiment of Women,[2] wherewith ye are both plaged; e against Unlawful Obedience,[3] and the admitting of gers to be your Kinges; somme declaring the vile nature Spaniards,[4] whome thou, O England, to thy destruction, einest; somme the pryde of the Frenchmen, whome thou, tland, to thy ruine, receavest; and many hundrethes with , with tonge, with worde, with writing, with jeopardie and of landes, goods, and lyves, have admonished you bothe e of that cankred poyson of Papistrie, that ye foster and er to your own perdition, and utter destruction of soules odies, of yourselves and yours for now and ever. I thought duetie, (seing your destruction, to man's judgement, to so neare,) how much or litle so ever they have prevailed, nce againe, to admonishe you both to give testimonie to trueth which my Brethren have written, and specially to your hearts to repentance, or at least to offre myselfe a sse against you, for the justice of God and his righteous mentes, which doubtles (if your hearts be hardned) against oth are at hand to be uttered. Thus by our writings, e it pleaseth God to styrre up of your nations, all men now live, and that shall comme after us, shall have cause o praise the mercie of God, that so oft admonisheth before

e peculiar orthography in the l of such words as *somme, plaged,* , for some, plagued, become, not thought necessary to alter. ox's First Blast.

odman on Obedience to Supewers.

e alliance of Mary with Philip the Second of Spain gave rise to various publications filled with abuse of the Spaniards, such as "A Warnyng for England," in 1555, and "John Bradford's (not the martyr) Letter to the Erles of Arundel, Darbie," &c. See Herbert's Typogr. Antiq., vol. iii. p. 1582.

he do stryke, and to consider his just punyshment when he shall poure furth his vengeance. Give eare therefore betymes, O Britanie, (for of that name both rejoyseth) whiles the Lord calleth, exhorteth, and admonisheth, that is the acceptable tyme when he will be founde. Yf ye refuse the tyme offred, ye can not have it afterward, thogh with teares (as did Esau) ye do seme to seke it. Yet once againe in Goddes behalfe, I do offre you the verie meanes, which if God of his mercies graunte you grace to folow, I doubt nothing but that of al your ennemies spedely ye shall be delivered. Ye rejoyce at this word, I am sure, if ye have ani hope of the perfourmance. Then harken to the matter which I do write unto you, not furth of mennes dreames nor fables, not furth of prophane histories, painted with mannes wisdome, vaine eloquence, or subtile reasons, but furth of the infallible trueth of Goddes worde, and by such plaine demonstrations, as shall be able to convince everie one of your owne consciences, be he never so obstinate. I will aske no further judges. Is not this Goddes curse and threatninge, amongest many other, pronounced against the sinfull land and disobedient people? "That strangers should devoure the frute of thy land; that the stranger should clyme above thee, and thou should comme downe and be his inferiour; he shall be the head and thou the taile. The Lord shall bring upon thee a people farr of, whose tongue thou canste not understand; thy strong walles, wherin thou trusted, shall be destroied," &c.

Deut. 28.

And doth not Esaie recken this also as the extremitie of all plages for the wickednes of the people, to have "Women raised up to rule over you?" But what saieth the same Prophete, in the begynnyng of his prophesie, for a remedie against these and all other evilles? "Your handes are full of blood, (saieth he,) O you Princes of Sodom, and you people of Gomorrhe; but washe you, make you cleane, take away your wicked thoghts furth of my sight. Cease to do evil, learn to do well, seke judgement, help the oppressed, &c. Then will I turn my hand to thee, and trie owt all thy drosse, and take away thy tynne; and I will restore thy judges, as afore tyme, and counsilours as of old." And Moses said before, in the place alledged, "That if thou wilt heare the voice of the Lorde thy God, and do his commaundementes, thou shalt be blessed in the towne, and blessed in the feelde. The Lorde shall cause thyne ennemies that rise up against thee, to fall before thee," &c.

Esa. 3.

Deut. 28.

Lo, the way in few wordes, O Britanie, to winne Goddes favour, and therefore to overcome thyne ennemies. But to

his more deeply into your heartes, O ye Princes and of that iland, whome God hath begonne to punishe, warne you, no shifting holes to excuse your faultes, ical practises to resist Goddes vengeance. And first, to you, (O Rulers and Princes of both the Realmes,) your treason, and bewaile your unthankfulnes. For other meanes can you escape Goddes judgementes. comack, I know, to be called traitours, but what availe to spare the name where the facts are more dent. You hath God erected amongest your brethren, end that, by your wisdome and godlie regiment, your s should be kept aswell from domestical oppression bondage and slaverie of strangers. But ye, alas! de- from God, are made the instrumentes to betray and libertie of those for whome ye oght to have spent es. For your consent and assistance is the cause that s now oppresse and devoure the poore within your , who shortly, if God call you not to repentance, shall nce you as ye have deserved. For the cupp which your do now drink shall be put in your handes, and you ink the dreggs of yt to your destruction. And wonder ye be becomme so foolishe and so blynd, that ye think es able long to continue, and to be safe when your rounde about you shall perishe; that you can pack tters well enough with the Princes; that ye can make nge with mariages, with flateries, and other fonde prac- that with your multitude or strengthe ye can escape es of vengeance; or that you can hide yourselves in corners. Nay, thoghe you should hyde you in the d can drawe you thence: if you had the egles wynges eyonde the east seas, you cannot avoid Goddes pre- Submitt yourselves therefore unto Hym, which holdeth ath in your nostrels, who with one blast of his mouth roy all his ennemies. Embrase his sonne Christ, lest he; and for your obstinacie against hym and his repent betymes, as we all do admonishe. Repent for eltie against his servants and the contempt of his so plainely offred, as it was never sence the begynnyng orld. Repent, we cry, Repent. For repentance is the ay of your redresse and deliverance. Did God ever are any people, whome he hath taught by his Pro- without somme evident repentance? Or useth any father on his childe, whome he hathe begonne to chastice,

without somme token of repentance? Consider how the Lord hath intreated Israel and Juda, his owne people; how oft they trespassed, and how he gave them over into the hand of their ennemies. But whensoever they repented and turned againe to God unfeanedly, he sent them judges and deliverers, kinges and saviours.

This way then of repentance, and unfeaned turning to God by obedience, is the onlie way before God accepted and alowed. Therefore was Noah sent to the old world to bring this doctrine of repentance, and all the old prophetes, as Elias, Elisæus, Esaias, Jeremias, and Malachias, and he who excelled all the prophetes, John Baptist. Any of whose stiles, and sharpe rebukes of synners, if I should now use it, would be thoght full strange, and hardely would be suffered; yet were any of their lessons, wherebie they called to repentance, most mete for our tyme and age, and no thinge disagreinge from this my present purpose. For the same spirit still striveth against the malice of our tymes, thoghe in diverse instrumentes and sundrie sortes and fashions. Noah pronounceth, that within an hundreth and twentie yeares, all fleshe should be destroyed. We have many Noahes that so crieth in our tymes, yet no man repenteth. All the tyme that Noah was preparing for the arke to avoide Goddes vengeance, the multitude derided this holie prophete, as the multitude of you two Realmes doth at this day deride all them that, by obedience to Goddes Worde, seke the meanes appointed to avoide God's judgementes. Then the people would not repent, but as they should live for ever, they maried, they banketed, they builded, they planted, deriding God's messenger. Do not you the like? I appeale to your own consciences. You marie, but not in God, but to betray your countries; you banket and builde with the blood of the poore.

"The Lorde calleth to fasting," saieth the Prophete Esaie, to mortifie themselves, and to kill their lustes, "but they kill shepe and bullockes." Jeremie crieth for teares and lamentation, they laughe and mock. Malachie crieth to the people of his tyme, "Turne unto me and I will turne to you, saieth the Lorde of hostes," and they proudly answer, "Wherein shall we returne?" Are ye not suche? Do not ye aske wherein shall we returne, when ye will not know your sinnes? when ye can not confesse nor acknolledge your faultes, thoghe ye go a hooringe in everie street, towne, and village with your idols? thoghe the blood of the oppressed crie everie where against you for vengeance? So that seyng no token of repentance, I can not

nto you with John Baptist, "O ye generation of vipers, ath taught you to flie from the wrathe to comme?"
hat I might see so good tokens, that ye would fear Goddes e and vengeance. But this must I say to you bothe, to confusion and shame, that ye are such vipers and ser-s, until I see better tokens. You do what ye can to de-your parentes; you cast of God your heavenlie Father, l not fear hym calling you to repentance; you destroy anish your spiritual fathers, which once had begotten you ritual children by the worde of trueth; you consume your ree, which hath geven you corporal life; you stinge with es and tayles all that would draw you from your wicked-Finally, man, woman, and childe are either venemed with poysons or stingged with your tayles. In you are ful-the wordes of David, "Their throte is an open sepulchre; heyr tounges they have deceived, the poyson of aspis is their lippes; their mouthes are full of curse and bitter-their fete are swift to shedd blood; destruction and hednes are in their wayes, and the way of peace they have nowen; the feare of God is not before there eyes," &c.
o know your tendre eares, you can not be grated with sharpe sentences of condemnation that thus prick you to earts: howbeit thus it behoveth that ye be taught to yourselves, that in the end ye be not damned with the d world. But I will wounde you no more with the words e Prophetes, with the sayinges of David, or of this holy of God, John the Baptist, but with our Saviour Christ's nost swete parables of the two sonnes, and of the tilmen ome he set his vineyard. I will labour to set before your your rebellion, hypocrisie, and crueltie, if so I can bring f you to repentance. Our Saviour Christe putteth furth parable: "A certaine man had two sonnes, and he came e first and said, Sonne, go and worke to day in my vine-who answered, I will not, but afterward repented and Then came he to the second and said likewise; and he ered, I will, Syr, but went not."
herein a wonderful comforte first is to be considered, how Lord our God, Maker of heaven and earth, doth humble lfe, not only to be called a man, a husband-man, a hous-r, and such like, but he abaseth himselfe of mercie to us arth and asshes, that his Sonne becometh man to make ynd glorious in his sight, to make all those, that do not e his grace offred, of the slaves of Satan his sonnes by

adoption. You are his sonnes, you are his vineyard, you are as dear unto hym as the apple of his eye, as Moses speaketh, if you can beleve it; he sweareth that you shall be his inheritance, and he will be yours, if ye will only receave his grace, and beleve hym when he sweareth. Will ye call his trueth into doubt, his glorie into shame by your misbelefe? Better it were that all creatures should perish, heaven, man, and angels, then that God should not have credit, or that his glorie in the least iote should be diminished. He hath called you by his Worde now many a tyme to worke in his vineyard; I aske what you have answered; your conscience can witnesse, and all the world seeth it. Somme of you have said plaine, lyke rebellious children, that ye would not do it; that ye would not worke in your Father's vineyarde. Shall I applie this part to Scotland? I may right well do it, and also to a greate parte in England. But Scotland in dede called most plainely and evidently, through the mercies of God, both by their own faithfull countrie men, and also by earnest travail of our English nation, to comme to the Lord's vineyard, in the tyme of King Edward, hath to the damage of both continually refused, as the conscience of many this day beareth witnesse. That tyme, as ye know, the vineyarde in England, by the children of God, was not all togither neglected, and then most earnestly were ye, O Brethren of Scotland, required to joyne handes with us in the Lord's worke, but Satan, alas! would not suffer it. His old fostred malice, and Antichrist his sonne, could not abyde that Christ should grow so strong by joynynge that Ile togither in perfect religion, whome God hath so many waies coupled and strengthened by his worke in nature: the Papistes practised all theyr fyne craftes in England, Scotland, and in France, that the Ghospellers should not with so strong walles be defensed, lest this one Iland should becomme a safe sanctuarie, as it began to be, to all the persecuted in all places. They move sturdie stomackes, they dispens with perjuries, they worke by theyr craftie confessions, they raise up warre in the end, whereby ye, deare Brethren of Scotland, were sore plaged. Of all these traiterouse sleghtes ye can not be ignorant. For yet it is not passed the memorie of man, that your King made promisse to have mett King Henrie the Eight att Yorke,[1] whose purpose

[1] In the autumn of 1541, Sir Ralph Sadler, in his second embassy, obtained a promise from James the Fifth, to meet his uncle, Henry the Eighth, at York. The meeting was to have taken place in January 1541–2. See vol. i. p. 76, note 3.

t in other things I do not alow him) in that case was godlie and praiseworthie: for it was to make an end of ngodlie warre and cruell murther, which longe had con- l betwixt the two realms. Your King, I say, made pro- to mete him, the breche whereof, as it was the occasion ch trouble, so is it evidently knowen, that your Cardinal is clergie laboured and procured the same. For it is not wn to somme amongest you, how many thousand crownes hurchmen did promisse for maintenance of the warre, King Henrie did denounce by the reason of that breche. fluous it were to me to recite all the causes moving your ent Preestes to solicitat your King to that infidelitie. his is most evident, that they feared nothing but the fall ir glorie, and the trouble of their kingdome, which then gland beganne to be shaken by suppressing of the Abbaies. moved your Preestes ernestly to labour that your Kinge falsly breake his promisse. But what affliction ye sus- by that and other their practises, yourselves can wit- For your Borderrs were destroyed, your Nobilitie, for ost parte, were taken prisoners, and your King for sorowe y died.[1]

I suppose they payed little.

these your miseries did nothing move your Preestes entance, but rather did inflame them against God, and t the profit of their native realme. For when againe, the death of your Kinge, your frendship and favours oght, first by King Henrie, and after his death by King rd his sonne, and by him who then was chosen Pro- r, how craftely, I say, did then your preestes undermine are not ignorant. When your Governoure, with the t of the most part of the Nobilitie, had solemnely sworne Abbay of Haliroode house, Syr Raphe Sadler then Embassadour for England, to perfurm the mariage-con- betwixt King Edward and your yonge Quene,[2] and faith- stand to everie point concluded and agreed for perfur- of that union, when seales were interchanged, and the ssadour dimissed; what sturr, tumult, and sedition raised ardinal in that your realme, it is not unknowen; to witt, at by his craft and malice the realme was devided, the nour compelled to seke his favour, to violate his oth, and

vol. i. p. 87-92.

treaty of this proposed al- as completed at Greenwich, st of July, and ratified by the Governor and a Convention of the Nobility, in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, on the 25th of August 1543.

so to becomme infamous for ever. And finally, by the pride of the Papistes was that leage broken.

But what did thereof ensue, Edinburgh, Leith, Dundie, yea, the most part of the realme did fele. Your shippes were stayed, your gooddes were lost, your chefe townes were burned, and, at the end, the beautie of your Realme did fall in the edge of the sworde; the hand of God manifestly feghting against you, because against your solemne oth ye did feght against them, who soght your favours by that godlie conjunction, which before was promised. But still proceaded your ennemies the Clergie, and theire adherentes, in theyr purposed malice. Wonder not that I terme them your ennemies; for albeit they be your countriemen, yet because they seke nothing more then the maintainance of their owne kingdome, which is the power of darckness and the kingdome of Antichrist, they are becomme conjured ennemies to everie citie, nation, or man, that labour to comme to the knolledge of the trueth. That pestilent generation, I say, did not cease till they obteined their purpose, by deliveringe your yonge Quene to the handes of the French King, assuredly mindinge by that meanes to cutt for ever the knot of the frendship that might have ensued betwixt England and Scotland by that godlie conjunction. What the Papistes feared is manifest; for then Christe Jesus being more purely preached in England then at any tyme before, would shortly have suppressed their pride and vaine glorie, and therefore they raged that he should not reigne above them also. But what is like to apprehend you, for because ye did not betymes withstand their most wicked counsils, wise men do consider. How heavie and unpleasant shall the burthen and yock of a Frenchman be to your shoulders and necks, God graunt that experience do not teach you.

But to returne to my former purpose: by all those means rehersed, by his messengers, by the blood of his saincts shed amongest you, by favours and frendship, by warre and the sword, yea, by famin and pestilence, and all other means, hath God your mercifull Father called you to labour in his vineyard; but to this day, alas! we heare not of your humble obedience, but stil ye say with stubburn faces, We will not labour, we will not be bounde to such thraldome, to abide the burthens of the vineyard. Ye think, perchance, I am too sharpe, and that I accuse you more then you deserve. For amongest you many do know the will of your Father, and many make profession of his Ghos-

out consider, Brethren, that it is not enoughe to know the
aundement, and to professe the same in mouthe, but it is
sarie that ye refuse yourselves, your owne pleasures, appe-
and your owne wisdome, if ye shall be judged faithfull
rers in the Lordes vineyard, and that ye beare the bur-
togither with your brethren, and suffre heate, and sweate,
ye taste the frutes with them. God will not stand con-
hat ye loke over the hedge and beholde the labours of
orethren; but he requireth that ye put your handes also
ur labours, that ye travail continually to pluck upp all
fitable wedes, albeit in so doing the thorns pricke you to
ard bones: that ye assist your brethren in theyr labours,
e it be with the jeopardie of your lifes, the losse of your
ance, and displeasure of the hole earthe. Except that
e be minded to labour, the Lord of the vineyarde will not
lledge you for his faithfull servantes.

d because this matter is of weight and greate importance,
speake somwhat more plainely for your instruction. It is
d[1] (to the greate comfort of all godlie that heare it) that
e of you, deare Brethren of Scotland, do desire Christ
to be faithfully preached amongest you, which thing if
the heart you desyre, and with godlie wisdome and stowt
age folow your purpose and enterprise, ye shall be blessed
Lord for ever. But in the begynnyng, ye must beware
ye folow not the example of your brethren of England,
ose handes, albeit the worke of the Lord appeared to
er for a time, yet because the eye was not single, we
our grief the overthrow of the same. They began to
Christ Jesus in the heartes of the people, and to ba-
that Romish Antichrist, they did drive owt the fylthie
from theyr dennes and holes (I mean the monkes and
such Papisticall vermin from their cloisters and ab-
). This was a good beginning, but, alas! in the one
he other there was great faulte. For the banisshing
at Romish Antichrist was rather by the feare of the
pronounced against him by actes of Parliament, then
livelie preaching of Christ Jesus, and by the discover-
f his abominations. And the suppression of the Ab-
did rather smell of avarice then of true religion. Those
ous locustes, which before were holden within their cois-
vere then set abrode to destroy all good and grene herbes.
uperstitious freers, ignorant monks, and idle abots, were

[1] "Bruted," reported.

made archbishoppes, bishoppes, persons, vicars, and such as oght to fede the soules of men, who, thus set at libertie, did continually wroot up the Lord's vineyard. And one crafty Gardener, whose name was Stephen,[1] having wolf-lik conditions, did maintain many a wolfe, did sow wicked seed in the garden, and cherished many weedes to deface the vineyard. And his maid Marie, who after was his mastres, now maried to Philip, wanting no wil to wickednes when she was at the weakest, nor stomake to do evill when she gatt the mastrie, did cherishe many weedes. Those two, I say, have so broken the hedges of the same vineyarde, (God so punishing the sinnes of those that oght to have made better provision for the same), that the husbandmen are hanged up, the diggars, dressours, and planters are banished, prisoned, and burned. Such havock is made, that all wild beastes have power to pollute the sanctuarie of the Lorde. O heavens! beholde her crueltie; O earthe! cry for vengeance; O seas and deserte mountains! witnesses of her wickednes, break furthe against this monster of England. But whether do I runne, by the bitternes of my grefe? I must nedes leave thee, O Scotland, after that I have advertised thee of this, that thou folow not the example, as I have said, of England; but in the bowels of Christ Jesus I exhorte thee, that if thou pretendest any reformation in religion, which is the chefe labour of the vineyarde, that thou do it at the first with a single eye and all simplicitie, that from yeare to yeare thou be not compelled to change, as was England, but let thy reformation be full and plaine, according to Goddes holie will and worde, without addition. Let all the plantes which thy heavenly Father hath not planted, be rooted owt at once; let not avarice blind thee, neither yet worldlie wisdome discourage thy hearte; let none beare the name of a teacher that is knowen to be a fosterer of superstition, or any kynde of wickednes. And thou so doing shalt move God of his greate mercie to send unto the faithfull worke men in abundance, to blesse the worke that thou pretendest in the vineyarde, and to preserve thee to the glorie of his own name, and to thy everlasting comforte. Thus must thou, O Scotland, repent thy former inobedience, if that thou wilt be approved of the Lord.

And now do I return to thee, O England: I do liken thee to the seconde sonne in the parable, which answered his father with flattering wordes, saying, "I go, father, but yet he went not at all." For sence the time that I had any remem-

[1] Dr Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.

e, our heavenlie Father, of his great mercies, hath not
l to call thee in to his vineyard; and to these late daies,
hast said alwāyes that thou woldest enter and be obe-
In the tyme of King Henrie the Eight, when by
ale, Frith, Bylnay,[1] and other his faithfull servantes,
called England to dresse his vineyard, many promised
aire, whome I could name; but what frute folowed?
ng but bitter grapes, yea, breeres and brambles, the
ewood of avarice, the gall of crueltie, the poison of filthie
ation flowing from head to foote, the contempt of God,
open defense of the Cake idol, by open proclamation
red in the churches in the stead of Goddes Scriptures.
was there no reformation, but a deformation, in the tyme
at tyrant and lecherous monster. The bore I grant was
wrooting and digging in the earth, and all his pigges
olowed hym. But they soght only for the pleasant frutes
hey winded with their longe snowtes; and for their own
s sake, they wrooted up many weeds; but they turned the
de so, mingling good and badd togither, swete and sowre,
ine and poyson, they made, I say, such confusion of reli-
and lawes, that no good thing could grow, but by great
le, under such Gardners. And no mervail, if it be rightly
dered: for this bore raged against God, against Devill,
st Christ, and against Antichrist; as the fome that he cast
gainst Luther,[2] the razing furth of the name of the Pope, King Henry his boke against Luther is noted.
vet alowing his laws, and his murther of many Christian
iours, and of many Papistes, do clearly and evidently tes-
into us. Especially the burning of Barnes, Jerome, and
, three faithful preachers of the trueth; and hanging the
day for maintainance of the Pope, Powel, Abel, and
rstone,[3] doth clearly paynt his beastlynes, that he cared

illiam Tyndall, John Frith, and
s Bylney, all suffered martyr-
he first at Filford in Flanders
6, the second at London in
he third at Norwich in 1531.

is refers to the work by Henry
of England, entitled, "Asser-
otem Sacramentorum adversus
Lutherum," &c., Londini, 1521,
hich obtained from the Pope,
., for the King, his title of
nder of the Faith."

Robert Barnes, Thomas Gar-
d William Hierome, Vicar of
Stepney, suffered martyrdom together in Smithfield, 30th of July 1541. Foxe, in his Book of Martyrs, has given a full detail of their examinations and fate. He also notices, that in the same place, and on the same day, three Papists, named Powell, Fetherstone, and Abell, were executed for denying the King's supremacy. Such an unusual spectacle, he says, "brought the people into a marvellous admiration and doubt of their religion, which part to follow and take, —when 'all the sayde sixe together,

for no maner of religion. This monstrous bore, for al this, must nedes be called the Head of the Churche in paine of treason, displacing Christ, our onlie Head, who ought alone to have this title.[1]

Wherefore in this point, O England, ye were no better then the Romish Antichrist, who by the same title maketh hymselfe a God, sitteth in mennes consciences, bannysheth the Worde of God, as did your King Henrie, whome ye so magnifie. For in his best time, nothing was hard but the Kinges booke, and the Kinges procedings; the Kinges Homelies in the churches, where Goddes word should onely have bene preached. So made you your King a god, beleving nothing but that he alowed. But how he died, I will not write for shame. I will not name how he turned to his vomet. I will not write your other wickednes of those times; your murthers without measure, adulteries and incestes of your Kinge, his Lordes and Communes. It greveth me to write those evils of my countrie, save onlie that I must nedes declare what frutes were founde in the vineyarde after you promised to worke therin, to move you to repentance, and to justifie Goddes judgements, how grevously so ever he shall plage you hereafter. Wherefore I desire you to call to remembrance your best state under King Edward, when all men with generall consent promised to worke in the vineyarde, and ye shall have cause, I doubt not, to lament your wickednes, that so contemned the voice of God for your owne lustes, for your crueltie, for your covetousnes, that the name of God was by your vanities evill spoken of in other nations. I will name no particulare thinges, because I reverence those tymes, save only the killing of both the Kinges Uncles,[2] and the prisonnement of Hoper[3] for Popishe garments. God graunt you all repentant heartes, for no order nor state did any part of his dutie in those dayes. But to speak of the best, whereof ye use to boast, your religion was

for contrary doctrine, suffered death, three by the fire for the Gospell, the other three by hanging, drawing, and quartering for Popery.'—'Insomuch (says Foxe) that a certayne straunger being there present the same tyme, sayde in these words, *Deus bone, quomodo hic vivunt gentes, hic suspenduntur Papistæ, illic comburuntur Antipapistæ!*'" —(Edit. 1576, p. 1172.)

[1] The above paragraph is quoted by Stapleton in his "Counterblaste to M. Horne's vayne Blast," Lovan, 1567, who makes this remark on the margin, "See how religiously the Protestants speak of their Princes!" (Dibdin's Bibliomania, p. 284.)

[2] Edward VI.—His uncles were Sir Thomas Seymour, Lord Admiral, and Edward Duke of Somerset. See Knox's Admonition, and the notes in vol. iii. pages 277, 278.

[3] Dr John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester.

English matyns, patched furthe of the Popes portesse;[1] thinges were in your great booke supersticious and fool- all were driven to a prescripte service lyke the Papistes, ey should thinke theyr dueties discharged, if the nombre said of psalmes and chapters. Finally, there could no ine be broght into the Churche, nor correction of maners. touche no further abuses, yet willing and desiering you sider them in your heartes, that knowing your negligence bring furth frutes of repentance. For this I admonishe ye people of England, wheresoever you be scattered or , that onles ye do right spedely repent of your former ence, it is not the Spanyardes only that ye have to feare des of Goddes wrath, but all other nations, France, Tur- d Denmarke, yea, all creatures shall be armed against r the contempt of those tymes when your heavenlie Fa- mercifullie called you. To what contempt was Goddes and the admonition of his Prophetes, comme in all before God did stryke, somme men are not ignorant. reachers themselves, for the most part, could fynd no n religion, but that the Churche was poore and lacked Trueth it is, that the Abbay landes, and other such es as afore appertained to the Papistical Churche, were vickedly and ungodly spent; but yet many thinges would ene reformed before that the kitching had bene better ed for to our Prelates in England. It was most evident, any of you, under the cloke of religion, served your own ; somme were so busie to heap benefice upon benefice, to labour in Parliament for purchesing of lands, that ne was small which coulde be founde for the reformation ses, and very litle which was spent upon the feeding of ockes. I nede not now to examine particular crimes of ers. Only I say, that the Ghospell was so lightly estem- t the most part of men thoght rather that God should d obey to theyr appetites, then that they should be sub- his holie commaundementes. For the communes did w in malice and rebellion, in craft and subtiltie, notwith- g all lawes that could be devised for reformation of .[2] The merchants had their own soules to sell for gaines; ntlemen were becomme Nemrods and gyants; and the e and counsile would suffer no rebukes of God's messen-

[1] rtesse," or Portiforium, a ma- Prayers used in the Roman Church.

[2] See Knox's Godly Letter, vol. iii. p. 175-177.

gers, thogh theyr offenses were never so manifest. Let those that preached in the Court, the Lent before King Edward deceased, speak theyr conscience and accuse me if I lie; yea, let a writing, written by that miserable man, then Duke of Northumberland,[1] to Master Harlow, for that time Byshoppe of Harford,[2] be broght to lighte, and it shall testifie that he ashamed not to say, That the libertie of the preachers tonges would cause the Counsile and Nobilitie to ryse uppe against them, for they could not suffer so to be intreated. These were the frutes even in the tyme of harvest, a litle before the winter came. And of the tyme of Marie, what should I write? England is now so miserable that no penne can paynt it. It ceaseth to be in the nomber of children, because it openly dispiteth God the Father. It hath cast off the trueth knowen and confessed, and foloweth lies and errours, which once it detested. It buyldeth the buylding which it once destroyed; it raiseth up the idols which once were there confounded; it murthereth the sainctes; it mainteineth Baal's prophetes by the commaundement of Jesabel. Such are the evil husbandes that now haunte the vineyard, so that this is true that our Saviour Christ saieth, "The Lord hymselfe hath planted a faire vineyard, he hedged it round about, and buylded a toure, &c. And when the tyme of the frute drew nere, he sent his servants to the tilmen to receyve the frutes thereof; but they caught his servantes, they bett one, they killed an other, and stoned others. Againe he sent other servantes mo, and they served them like wise."

What nede any exposition to applie this unto England? All is fulfilled that is spoken in that parable, onles they do waite for the Sonne hymselfe for to comme, that they may handle hym lykewise as they have done his servantes. But all is one, saieth our Saviour Christ, "That which ye do to one of these litle ones, the same ye do to me," be it good or bad. "Why doest thou persecute me?" saieth Christ to Saul, when he was, as he now is, at the right hand of God his Father in the heavens. Therefore they persecute, they banishe, they burne Christ the Sonne of God in his membres. The judgement therefore now remaineth, which the wicked then gave against themselves, that "The Lord of the vineyarde will cruelly destroy those evill persons, and will let furth his vineyarde unto

Mat. 25.

[1] See Knox's Admonition, vol. iii. pages 169, 278.

[2] John Harley was consecrated Bishop of Hereford, 26th May 1553. He was deprived in the following year, and died in 1557.

husbandes." And the confirmation of the same by the
ce of the chefe judge, that "The kingdome of God shall
en from such, and geven to a people that shall bringe
the frutes thereof."
which judgements is begunne in Englande, and shortly,
will be fully executed and finished without right spedie re-
ce. Somme hope is in Scotland, which hath not shewed
any such crueltie, and hath not contemned the knowen
res; but lyke wanton children, have contemned the com-
ement of theyr father, partlie of frailtie, partely of igno-
But Englande, the servante that knew the will of his
and Maister, which was once lightened with most clere
s, which hath tasted of the swetnes of the Worde of
nd of the joyes of the worlde to come, which hath ab-
Antichrist and all idolatrie, which hath boasted to pro-
Christ with great boldnes before all the worlde, must be
with many stripes, it can not be avoided.
to be shorte, this only remaineth for bothe these Na-
that they repent and returne into the vineyarde with the
onne. For neither shall ignorance excuse any land or
as is playne in the fyrst to the Romanes; neither can
ople be receyved without the frutes of repentance, as
Baptist proclaimeth.
frutes of repentance I call, not only to know your synnes,
lament them, but to amend your lives, and to make
the Lordes pathes by resisting Satan and synne, and
g God in doing the workes of righteousnes, and execut-
ddes preceptes and judgementes, so long amongest you
ned. "For even now is the axe put to the roote of the Mat. 3.
that everie tree that bringeth not furthe goode frute
hewen downe and cast into the fier. The Lord hath
s fanne in his hande, and will purge his flore, and gather
eate into his garner, but will burne the chaffe with un-
able fier."
ont therefore, whiles ye have tyme, before ye be fanned,
downe, and fiered. When I do behold both your two
s, I see the fanne, I see the axe. But this I am suer is
gynning of your ruine, that ye do mary with strangers,
e your power to forraine nations, such as feare not God,
open idolaters, blasphemers, persecutors of the saincts
that careth neither for heaven nor hell, God nor Devill,
they may wynne landes, townes, and countries. God
ew you downe by them therefore, as he hath done other

nations by like means and causes, and they shall fanne you furthe of your own huskes and homes, to make you vagabondes and beggars, and after possesse your landes and goods, as God threatned by Moses, as was before alledged. Trust not to thy strengthe afterwarde when thy ennemy is settled, if thou have no strengthe to resist his begynnynges, no more then thou canst overcome a canker that hath overrunne many members. That God would not have you to truste to your force of men, townes, or castels, there is enough examples, that you bothe have felt to your grefe. And I can not write without murnyng. For how litle avayled the multitude and stowt courage of you (dear Brethren of Scotland) att Musselburgh or Pinkefield,[1] the carcases, alas! of many thousands who that day fell in the edge of the sworde may teach you. And how vaine be all strengthes (be they judged never so stronge or inexpugnable) lett Calice lately taken[2] admonish you. But I do leave such examples to your considerations to teache you to call to the livinge Lord, who offereth hymselfe as a mercifull Father unto you, still calling you to repentance by wordes, by writinges, and most gentle corrections, if ye will not be harde harted.

Yet here have we to lament the miserable state of mankynde. which is so seduced by the subtile serpent, that he can not know his miserie when he is admonished, nor perceave his perdition when it draweth so nere. When the servantes of God set furthe his trueth, they are charged to trouble realmes and countries, as was Elias: when they warne men not to joyne handes with wicked kinges and princes, they are counted traitours, as was Esaias and Jeremias. Such is mannes malice. But if there be a God that is fyrst of all to be soght, and without whome nothing can be profitable unto us, but without hym all thinges are unhappie and accursed: if the kingdome of God and the righteousnes thereof must fyrst be soght, and then all thinges shall be ministred: if our heavenlie Kinge must before man be obeyed, then all such doctrine as calleth us from man to God is easie to be perceaved, and oght not to be resisted. Wherefore I do admonish and exhorte you bothe in the name of the livinge God, that howsoever you have hitherto shewed yourselves the servants of men to beare and to flatter with the

[1] Referring to the disasters, during the Duke of Somerset's Expedition into Scotland, in August 1547, at the field of Pinkie, near Musselburgh, or six miles to the east of Edinburgh.

[2] The town of Calais, so long possessed by the English, was besieged and taken by the Duke of Guise, in January 1558.

e, that now ye learne, in Goddes cause, to despise the
of men, to bend yourselves against this wicked world, nei-
egarding the visars of honours, vaine titles, nor dignities,
rther then they seke God his onelie glorie. For his glo-
ll he not suffer to be contemned for any cause. No, he
owre contempt on those Princes that strive against his
, but those that glorifie hym will he glorifie. And what
ome, realme, or nation, so ever it be, that will not seke to
fie his name, they shall in the day of Goddes grevous visi-
, which is now at hand, be utterly confounded, theyr
gth shalbe straw, theyr honours shall be shame, and al
idolatrous Preestes, in whose lies they delyte, togither
heir idols, with whome they are bewitched, shall be stub-
d brymstone to burne togither, when the wrathe of the
of hostes shall set them on fier. The Preestes shall not
heyr goddes, nor the goddes their worshippers, but both
accursed shall then perish for ever. And thoghe our
full Father hathe longe suffred heretofore in the tyme of
ance, yet now in the ende of the world he calleth all people
nely by his Worde to repentance, that he must nedes
spedie vengeance if his callinge be contemned; especially
se the day can not longe be delayed, wherein He hath de-
ned to judge all people and nations of the whole world,
o put an end to wickednes.

herefore to conclude, behold, your onlie remedie remain-
o repent your tyme of ignorance, of stubburnnes, of cruel-
f idolatrie, wherein ye have so long continued. And now
all diligence to seke for knolledge of the Worde of God,
penly to professe the Ghospell, which is the power of God,
of ye oght not to be ashamed. Cease at the last from
olde stubburnnes, wherbie ye have deserved vengeance,
abour in the vineyarde with all mekenes, that ye may re-
mercie and grace. Cease from your crueltie against
tes membres, and learne to suffer for Christes sake, if ye
be true Christians. Banishe all idolatrie and Popishe
stition from amongest you, els can ye have no parte in
tes kingdome, no more then Christ can be partaker with
hrist. Pray to the Lorde of hostes and armies to give
he courage, strengthe, and meanes. The Lord's arme is
hortened now, no more then of olde. Be stronge there-
in the Lord for the defence of the trueth, thogh all the
le ryse against itt. Now when the battaile is fierce against
vinge God for dead idols, (even for the vile wafer-cake, the

most vaine idol that ever was,) against the Ghospel of Christe for the inventions of Antichrist, against Christes membres for Popishe ceremonies, can any of you that wilbe compted God's children styll halt of bothe handes? If that cake baked in yron tonges, not able to abyde a blast of winde, be the eternal God, folow it; but if He only be God that hath created the heavens, abhorre suche vile idols that have no force to save themselves. If Christes Ghospel and doctrine be sufficient to salvation, and by receaving of it ye are called Christians, away with all Antichristes inventions brought into your Romish churches. If you hope to have any parte with Christ, cherishe his membres, and maintaine them against theire ennemies the Papistes and the Byshoppe of Rome, the verie Antichriste. What strength, what force, what power, what counsil so ever ye have of God, bende all to this ende and purpose, as ye wyll make answere to your heavenly King for the talent receaved. If you have no regarde of those principal pointes, which only or chiefly should be before your eyes, go to with your forraine mariages, joyne France to Scotland, and Spayne to England, if it be possible, yet shall ye all be confounded. The Lord shall plage you one with an other untill you be consumed; your strength, wherein ye trust, shall be shaken to naught, your courrage shalbe cowardise, your wisdom shall be folie, and the Lord of hostes, by your ruine and destruction, will be renowned and praised, and his just judgements through owt the earth shall be honoured and feared. Where of the contrarie, if you will maintaine God's trueth in the earthe, he will receave you as his children into the heavens; if you confesse his Christe before this wicked generation, Christ shall confesse you before his Father in the heavens, in the presence of his angels. But if you persiste stubburnly to banishe Goddes worde, and his sonne Christ in his membres, furth of your earthlie kyngdomes, how can ye loke for any parte in his heavenlie kingdome? muche more if ye continue to murther his messingers, what can ye loke for emongst yourselves, but that ye shoulde digge one in another's bellie to be your own murtherers? So that if ye wil stil remaine after all these admonitions in your murthers and idolatries, be suer that in this worlde ye shall have enoghe of your idolatries, and you shalbe filled with blooddy murthers, and in the end ye shall be judged without the gates of the hevenlie Jerusalem, amongest the dogges, enchaunters, hooremongers, and murtherers, and idolaters, with all those that loveth lies. But he that overcommeth all these shall inherit all thinges,

I will be his God, saieth the Lord, and he shall be my Revel. 21.
Where as the fearefull in God's cause, the unbeleving,
ominable, the murtherers, hooremongers, sorcerers, and
rs, shall have their parte in the lake that burneth with
l brymstone."

here is the choise of life and deathe, of miserie and
offred unto you by God's mercies, and the meanes how
ay winne Goddes favour opened, wherebie onely ye may
against your ennemies. God graunte you heartes to
as the people did to Josua, offering the lyke choyse:
forbyd (say they) that we shoulde forsake God; we will Josu. 24.
he Lord our God and obey his voice, for he is our God."
we, your banished Brethren, by the power of God to
you forward, will thus pronounce with Josua, "That
our families will serve the Lorde God, thoghe all na-
unne to idols," thoghe all people do persecute us. We
hat Satan hathe but a shorte tyme to rage, and that
our Captaine right spedely will crowne his souldiours,
ne, as he is the eternal God with his Father, be all
and glorie for ever and ever. So be it.

PSALME OF DAVID XCIIII.,

TURNED IN TO METRE, BY W. KETHE.

[WILLIAM KETHE is usually supposed to have been a native of Scotland, and his name evidently denotes a Scottish extraction. He and his wife arrived in Geneva in November 1556. Whether he held any preferment in England before his exile, has not been ascertained. It is said he assisted in the translation of the Geneva Bible, first printed in the year 1560. In the edition of "Fourscore and seven Psalmes of David in English metre, by Thomas Sternholde and others. [Geneva?] M.D.LXJ." 12mo, twenty-five are by Kethe. These are included in the copies of the Psalter, as received by the Church of Scotland in 1565; but only twelve of them were retained in the same collection prepared by Hopkins for the English Church in 1562. In the numerous editions printed between 1565 and 1648, some verbal alterations in this version of the 94th Psalm occur, but it is not necessary to point them out. In the "Brief Discourse of the Troubles at Frankfort," we find, that after the death of Queen Mary, Kethe was sent on a mission to the English churches in different parts of Germany and Helvetia for effecting a reconciliation. As an author, his name is connected with a popular ballad against Popery, *Tye thy mare, Tom boye*, and another, *Of Mierules contending*. "William Kethe his Seeing Glasse, sent to the Nobles and Gentlemen in England," is a prose tract, probably printed at Geneva about 1557. I have never seen a perfect copy: it is evidently the same work that Tanner describes as "*Perspectivam cum prece Danielis, metro, ad Magnates Angliæ.*" He has some verses as an address "To the Reader," subjoined to Goodman on Obedience, 1558. The only other printed work with which his name is connected, is "A Sermon made at Blanford Forum, in the Countie of Dorset, on Wensday the 17. of Janunarij last past, at the Session holden there, &c., by William Kethe, Minister and Preacher of Gods Word. 1571. At London, printed by John Daye," 12mo. It is dated at Childockford, 29th January 1570-[1], and dedicated to Ambrose, Earl of Warwicke, who was his patron. It is recorded, that in the year 1563, "The Earl of Warwick at his being in Newhaven [now Havre de Grace], had in dede with him certaine ministers for a time, but after the cannon came and began to roare, and the plague off pestilence so terriblie to rage, then (I weene) not a minister there left, but Master Kethe alone. And when as meanes were made to have mo ministers over, to aide the said Kethe (who had so muche to doo, what with preaching, and visitinge the poor sicke souldiers, which were in no small nombers), there coulde not be fonde (as that right noble Erle can uppon his honor testifie) so muche as one which could be brought to so muche conformitie, as to subscribe to any suche service off the Queens Majestie."—(Brief Discourse, &c., p. cxcvi.) Kethe also accompanied the Earl of Warwick, in 1569, when "sent to subdue the Popish rebells in the North partes."—(Ib.) The time of his death is uncertain.]

O Lorde, sith vengeance doth to thee,
  and to none els belong:
Now showe thy self, O Lorde oure God,
  with spede revenge oure wronge.

Arise, thow great Judge of the worlde,
  and have at length regarde,
That as the prowde deserve and do,
  thow wilt them so rewarde.

How longe, O Lord, shall wicked men
  triumphe thy flock to slea?
Yea, Lorde, how longe? For they triumphe
  as thoghe, who now but they.

How longe shall wicked doers speake?
  their great disdaine we se,
Whose boasting prowd doth seem to threat
  no speach but theirs to be.

O Lorde, they smite thy people downe,
  not sparing yonge or olde:
Thine heritage they so torment,
  as strange is to beholde.

The widdowe and the stranger both
  they murther cruelly;
The fatherlesse they put to death,
  and cause they know none why.

And yet saye they, Tushe, tushe, the Lorde
  shall not beholde this dede,
Ne yet will Jacob's God revolve
  the thinges by us decreed.

But now take hede, ye men unwise,
  amonge the folk that dwell:
Ye fooles, I saye, when will ye waye
  or understand this well?

He that the eare did plant and place,
  shall he be slowe to heare?
Or he that made the eye to see,
  shall he not see most clere?

Or he that whipte the hethen folke
  and knolledge teacheth men,
To nurture such as went astraye,
  shall he not punishe then?

The Lorde oure God, who man did frame,
  his very thoghts doth knowe,
And that they are but vile and vaine,
  to him is knowne also.

But blessed is that man, O Lorde,
  whom thou doest bringe in awe,
And teacheste him by this thy rodd
  to love and feare thy lawe.

That patience thou mayste him geve
  in tyme of troubles great,
Untill the pitt be digged up
  th' ungodly for to eate.

For why, the Lorde will never fayle
  his people whiche him love:
Ne yet forsake his heritaunce,
  whiche he doth still approve.

Till righteousnes to judgement turne,
  as it must be in dede,
And such as be full true in hearte,
  to folowe it with spede.

Who now will up and rise with me
  against this wycked bande?
Or who against these workers ill,
  on my parte stoute will stande?

If that the Lorde had not me holpt,
  doutelesse it had bene done,
To witt, my soule in silence broght,
  and so my foes had wonne.

But thogh my foote did swiftly slide,
  yet when I did it tell,
Thy mercie, Lord, so helde me up,
  that I therewith not fell.

For in the heapes of sorrowes sharpe,
that did my hearte oppresse,
Thy comfortes were to me so greate,
they did my soule refreshe.

Wilt thow, vaine man, have oght to do
with that most wicked chaire,
That museth mischief as a lawe
with out remorse or feare?

Against the soules of righteous men
they all with spede convent,
And there the giltlesse blood condemne,
with one most vile consent.

But my refuge is to the Lorde,
in all these daungers deepe,
And God the strength is of my truste,
who allwaies dothe me keepe.

He shall rewarde their wickednesse,
and in their wrathe them kill,
Yea, them destroye shall God our Lorde,
for he bothe can and will.

FINIS.

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